

**Anatomy of the *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio* by
Antonio de Guevara**

by

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Abstract

Antonio de Guevara's *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio* has been recognised as a primitive novel since, at the latest, the turn of this century. Yet it persists at the margin of the canon, remote from other primitive novels. This dissertation is an attempt to reverse this trend by showing that the work is a primitive novel.

In the first chapter it is argued that the case which has been made for awarding the work the status of a novel is not convincing and that the prerequisite for a convincing case, knowledge of the principal structures or generic affinities of the work, is lacking. In the second chapter it is argued that the biographical structure of the work is that of a Suetonian life. In the third chapter it is argued that the speeches and letters are a great variety of argumentative discourse and, in the fourth, that they constitute a mixture of a moral letter-collection and sentimental romance. In the fifth chapter it is argued that the work resembles *Lazarillo de Tormes* and the *Viaje de Turquía* in as much as its principal structures are organized in a fashion which momentarily deceives the reader: Marcus Aurelius is initially presented as the virtuous subject of a biography of moral value. It is gradually suggested and eventually confirmed that he is not virtuous, but a hypocrite, and that the work is not a biography, but fiction.

Declaration

I did all the research for and wrote this dissertation.

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Introduction

Seventeen years ago, at the beginning of his article "Marco Aurelio y Faustina", Francisco Márquez Villanueva called the *Libro áureo* and the *Relox de príncipes* "el gran elefante blanco de la literatura española", an exact metaphor not only for these two works' neglect, but also for the consensus of critics, formed nearly three decades before by María Rosa Lida's article "Fray Antonio de Guevara: Edad Media y Siglo de Oro español", that they and the rest of Guevara's *oeuvre* were worthless.¹ On this occasion, however, the consensus was no sooner restated than opposed, for Márquez Villanueva went on to argue that these two were primitive novels, heirlooms to be cherished, therefore, not junk. This article seemed to mark, not, as might have been expected, the beginning of a gradual disintegration of the consensus, but a sudden adoption of opinions implicitly opposed to it. In the decade following its publication there were many signs that Guevara's works might be about to take up positions nearer the centre of the canon. As Márquez Villanueva noted in "Crítica guevariana", a review published at the end of the decade, in comparison to the four centuries of almost uninterrupted *lapsus memoriae* which preceded them, "los años setenta se acreditan en especial como una década de abundante recolección guevariana".² In 1970 only three books solely concerned with Guevara and his *oeuvre* had ever been published. By 1980 there were five more. A critical or, at least, new edition, by Rinaldo Froldi, of the *Libro áureo* was rumoured to be close to publication. J.R. Jones ended his *Antonio de Guevara* announcing a revolution in the fortune of his subject's works caused by "interesting changes in the direction of the contemporary novel and the curious parallels which 'new' techniques have with picaresque, chivalrous,

¹Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "Marco Aurelio y Faustina," *Insula* 305 (April 1972), p. 3. María Rosa Lida, "Fray Antonio de Guevara: Edad Media y Siglo de Oro español," *Revista de Filología Hispánica* VII (1945), pp. 346-88. Her opinion was itself formed to a great extent, I suspect, by the chapter on Guevara in Marcial Solana's *Historia de la filosofía española: época del renacimiento (siglo XVI)* (Madrid: Asociación Española para el Progreso de las Ciencias, Real Academia de las Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales, 1941), vol. II, pp. 438-62.

²Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "Crítica guevariana," *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* XXVII (1979), p. 334.

and Guevarian prose."³

This revolution has not happened. Guevara's works have hardly budged from the places at the margins of the canon allotted them by the consensus which existed before the 1970s. In the second volume of the *Historia y crítica de la literatura española*, edited by Francisco López Estrada, criticism of Guevara's works is included with that of the *Scholástico*, the *Crotalón*, the *Viaje de Turquía* and of the works of Juan Huarte de San Juan and the Valdés brothers, in a chapter headed "Prosa y pensamiento", not in the chapter headed "Variedades de la ficción novelesca".⁴ In a more recent survey, Antonio Prieto's *La prosa española del siglo XVI*, they are treated together with collections of *facetiae*, miscellanies, letters and dialogues, in a chapter to themselves, yet in a different volume, it seems, from the one reserved for the works at the centre of the canon, the primitive novels.⁵ Each is an arrangement premised on a judgement of their value almost the same as that of literary historiography twenty or thirty years ago.⁶ The consensus which existed before the 1970s seems to have been more than vindicated: with so little to show for very nearly two decades of effort, Guevara's writing could be judged not merely junk, but ruinously expensive of critical resources, a burden to literature.

Changing the canon takes time, but the blame for the persistence of Guevara's works at its margins would be misplaced if it were put on a torpid literary establishment. It ought to be borne by the very critics who sought to promote the works, the Guevaristas themselves.

³J.R. Jones, *Antonio de Guevara* (Boston: Twayne, 1975), p. 148. He also mentions research work on Guevara then in progress at Princeton, Wisconsin and Cincinnati.

⁴Francisco Rico (general editor), *Historia y crítica de la literatura española*, vol. II, *Siglos de oro: renacimiento*, edited by Francisco López Estrada, (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1980). "Prosa y pensamiento" is edited by Antonio Castro Díaz.

⁵Antonio Prieto, *La prosa española del siglo XVI*, vol. I (Madrid: Cátedra, 1986). A second volume has yet to be published.

⁶Guevara's works are treated together with those of Pedro Mexia, the Valdés brothers, Antonio de Torquemada, Juan de Mal Lara and Juan Huarte de San Juan in the section "Humanistas creadores", by Carlos Clavería, in the *Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas*, edited by Guillermo Díaz-Plaja, vol. II (Barcelona: Barna, 1951), pp. 435-88. And they are treated together with those of the Valdés brothers and Cristóbal de Villalón by Juan Luis Alborg in a section on didactic prose in his *Historia de la literatura española*, vol. I (Madrid: Gredos, 1966), pp. 373-419.

It is not the case that the works have proved, on closer inspection, less valuable than they once seemed. They have not had much closer inspection. Their author and, through the works, his culture have, but the works themselves have not. It is a dearth noted by Karen Elizabeth Burrell in her dissertation "Antonio de Guevara y el desarrollo de la novela realista en España": "los eruditos que han estudiado a Guevara suelen enfocar cualidades extrínsecas al valor de su obra, vista ésta como artefacto literario."⁷ And, in fact, none of the six books solely concerned with Guevara and his *oeuvre* published since 1970 is a new interpretation of one or more of his works as literary discourse. One, J. R. Jones's *Antonio de Guevara*, includes sections which resume the findings of previous criticism. Another, Rinaldo Froldi's *Premessa al problema testuale del «Libro Aureo de Marco Aurelio» e del «Relox de Príncipes» de Guevara e storia esterna del «Libro Aureo de Marco Aurelio»*, presumably treats editorial matters.⁸ Augustin Redondo's *Antonio de Guevara (1480?-1545) et l'Espagne de son temps: de la carrière officielle aux oeuvres politico-morales* is mostly a mixture of biography and cultural history.⁹ Ernest Grey's *Guevara, A Forgotten Renaissance Author*, which is based on his doctoral dissertation "Guevara through the Centuries", is a history of the reception of Guevara's *oeuvre* up to the early twentieth century.¹⁰ In *Antonio de Guevara en su contexto renacentista*, Asunción Rallo Gruss uses texts from Guevara's works to examine notions of the writer, of Utopia, of woman, of old age and of medicine.¹¹ And in *Antonio de Guevara: un ensayista del siglo XVI*, Pilar Concejo describes Guevara's attitudes

⁷ Karen Elizabeth Burrell, "Antonio de Guevara y el desarrollo de la novela realista en España", Ph. D. diss., Yale, 1986, p. 28. She attributes this to inveterate prejudice and also to "el uso de Guevara como fuente documental para la biografía, la historia, la política, y hasta la sociología." (pp. 28-9)

⁸ Rinaldo Froldi, *Premessa al problema testuale del «Libro Aureo de Marco Aurelio» e del «Relox de Príncipes» e storia esterna del «Libro Aureo de Marco Aurelio»* (Bologna: B. Perini-Rovigo, 1971). I have not been able to see this.

⁹ Augustin Redondo, *Antonio de Guevara (1480?-1545) et l'Espagne de son temps: de la carrière officielle aux oeuvres politico-morales*, Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance, no. CXLVIII (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1976).

¹⁰ Ernest Grey, *Guevara, A Forgotten Renaissance Author* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973).

¹¹ Asunción Rallo Gruss, *Antonio de Guevara en su contexto renacentista* (Madrid: Cupsa, 1979).

to Spain, to himself, to courtiers, to physicians and lawyers, to monks and nuns, to women, to old age, to government and to love and friendship.¹² One of the objectives of these three and of Redondo's book, as their titles in various ways suggest, is to confute Lida's thesis that Guevara's works are basically mediaeval, "estructuras anticuadas sobre las cuales se superponen elementos del ideario en boga que les prestan su efimero aire de modernidad".¹³ In this they are partially successful. There can be no doubt that the issues raised in Guevara's works are those which preoccupied Castilian courtiers and churchmen of the first half of the sixteenth century. Whether they are addressed in a mediaeval or Renaissance fashion, however, whether, that is, the structures of Guevara's works are antiquated or innovative is a question which receives brief and far from novel responses. Lida's thesis, therefore, although damaged, has not been demolished. Treating Guevara's writing as cultural history is not to interpret his works as literature and thus to set a new value on them. And without revaluation they will not move from their positions at the margins of the canon.¹⁴

What literary criticism of Guevara's works there has been, not only in the 1970s, but throughout the century, has made little progress. The frontiers of the unknown have been successively recharted rather than gradually abolished. There

¹²Pilar Concejo, *Antonio de Guevara: un ensayista del siglo XVI* (Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1985).

¹³Lida, "Guevara: Edad Media," p. 351.

¹⁴Márquez Villanueva found this fault with Redondo's book in his review of it, "Crítica guevariana". He argued that Redondo's stated objective, Guevara's rehabilitation, could not be achieved by the means adopted, an historical reading of the *Libro áureo* and the *Relox de príncipes*. It could only be achieved by a "lectura 'literaria', atenta a cuestiones internas de concepto, expresión y formas." (p. 352) In my opinion, Grey's, Rallo Gruss's and Concejo's books have the same fault.

are many articles and essays devoted to the fortune of Guevara's works,¹⁵ to his

¹⁵Studies of the fortune of Guevara's works published since the war include: Jeanette Fellheimer, "Hellowes' and Fenton's Translations of Guevara's *Epístolas familiares*," *Studies in Philology* XLIV (1947), pp. 140-56; Carlton Laird Iiams, "Aegidius Albertinus and Antonio de Guevara", Ph.D. diss., Berkeley, 1956; C.E. Schweitzer, "La parte de Albertinus, Escobar y Guevara en el 'Zeitkürtzer'", *Archivo ibero-americano* 6 (1958), pp. 217-23; L. Flechniakoska, "Une épître d'Antonio de Guevara et la *Loa entre un cortesano y un villano*," *Revue des langues romanes* LXXV (1962), pp. 1-13; G. Weydt, "Adieu Welt: Weltklage und Lebensrückblick bei Guevara, Albertinus, Grimmelshaven", *Neophilologus* 46 (1962), pp. 105-25; F.S. Escribano, "Sobre el posible origen de la frase 'il faut cultiver nôtre jardin' de *Candide* (con un apéndice de las obras españolas en la biblioteca de Voltaire)," *Hispanófila* 22 (1964), pp. 15-26; J.R. Jones, "Topoi of Dedication in the Prologues of Gracian's *Discreto* and Guevara's *Década*," *Romance Notes* 7 (1965), pp. 54-7; T. George, "Samuel Rowland's *The Betraying of Christ* and Guevara's *The Mount of Calvarie* An Example of Elizabethan plagiarism," *Notes and Queries* 212 (1967), pp. 467-74; Augustine Redondo, "Une source du *Libro de la vida y costumbres de don Alonso Enríquez de Guzmán* les *Epístolas familiares* d'Antonio de Guevara," *Bulletin hispanique* 71 (1969), pp. 174-90; Manuel J. González, "Lo guevariano en *Simplicius Simplicissimus*," *Letras de Deusto* 1 (1971), pp. 83-101; J.R. Jones, "A Note on Antonio de Guevara and King James I," *Romance Notes* 14 (1972), pp. 168-72; C. N. Smith, "Imitation and Invention in La Taille's *Courtisan retiré*," *Romance Notes* 15 (1974), pp. 490-4; C. Grisé, "Jean-Baptiste Chassignet and Guevara," *French Studies* 31 (1977), pp. 268-76; Herbert Walz, *Der Moralist in Dienste des Hofes: Ein vergleichende Studie zu der Lehrdichtung von Antonio de Guevara und Aegidius Albertinus* (Frankfurt on Main: Peter Lang, 1984).

style,¹⁶ and to the Villano del Danubio,¹⁷ but almost none to his influences, to the genres of his works or to all the other speeches in the *Libro áureo* and the *Relox de príncipes*.¹⁸ This selectivity is, to some extent, merely a consequence of different fashions in literary criticism. It is also a sign, however, of the little progress made in the interpretation of Guevara's works as literature. And, with two exceptions, there has been, in fact, almost no progress since the beginning of the century, since the interpretation of the *Libro áureo* and the *Relox de príncipes* by Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo in the *Orígenes de la novela*¹⁹ and the interpretation of all the works by René Costes in *Antonio de Guevara: son oeuvre*.²⁰

¹⁶Studies of Guevara's style published since the war include: Americo Castro, "Antonio de Guevara: un hombre y un estilo del siglo XVI," *Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo* I (1945); 3rd rev. ed. in *Hacia Cervantes* (Madrid: Taurus, 1967), pp. 86-117; Leo Spitzer, "Sobre las ideas de Américo Castro a propósito del Villano del Danubio de Antonio de Guevara," *Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo* VI (1950), pp. 1-14; Jack Gibbs, "The Life and Prose Style of Fray Antonio de Guevara," Ph.D. diss., Oxford, 1951; Juan Marichal, "Sobre la originalidad renacentista en el estilo de Guevara," *Nueva revista de filología hispánica* IX (1955), pp. 113-28; César E. Quiroga Salcedo, "Embustes e invenciones en el lenguaje de fray Antonio de Guevara: ensayo de estilística lingüística," *Románica* I (1960), pp. 175-91; Amado Alonso, "El ritmo de la prosa," in his *Materia y forma en poesía* (Madrid: Gredos, 1965), pp. 258-67; Michel Camprubi, "Le style de fray Antonio de Guevara à travers les *Epístolas familiares*," *Caravelle* XI (1968), pp. 131-50; Frida Weber de Kurlat, "El arte de fray Antonio de Guevara en el *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea*," in *Studia iberica: Festschrift für Hans Flasche*, edited by Karl-Hermann Körner & Klaus Rühl (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1973), pp. 669-87; Luisa López Griguera, "Algunas precisiones sobre el estilo de Antonio de Guevara" in *Studia hispanica in honorem R. Lapesa*, vol. III (Madrid: Gredos, 1975), pp. 299-315.

¹⁷Studies of the Villano del Danubio published since the war include: Stephen Gilman, "The Sequel to *el villano del Danubio*," *Revista hispánica moderna* XXXI (1965), pp. 174-84; José Manuel Gómez-Tabanera, "La plática del villano del Danubio de fray Antonio de Guevara, o las fuentes hispanas de la concepción europea del mito del buen salvaje," *Revista Internacional de Sociología* XXIV (1966), pp. 297-316; Ann E. Wiltrout, "El villano del Danubio: Foreign Policy and Literary Structure," *Crítica hispánica* III (1981), pp. 47-57; H. Walz, "Guevara's «El villano del Danubio» in der Übersetzung des Aegidius Albertinus: Politische Lehrdichtung unter Kaiser Karl V und Kurfürst Maximilian I" in *Europäische Lehrdichtung: Festschrift für Walter Neumann zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by H.G. Rötzer and H. Walz (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981), pp. 132-42.

¹⁸The article titled "Notas para las fuentes de Guevara" attributed to María Rosa Lida de Malkiel by Grey in his bibliography is apocryphal, a mistake for her "Notas para las fuentes de Quevedo," *Revista de Filología Hispánica* I (1939), pp. 369-75.

¹⁹Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, vol. II, Edición nacional de las obras completas de Menéndez y Pelayo, edited by Enrique Sánchez Reyes, vol. XIV (Santander: C.S.I.C., Aldus, 1943), pp. 109-26. All page references are to this edition of the *Orígenes*.

The two exceptions are: Márquez Villanueva's interpretation of the *Libro áureo* and the *Relox de príncipes* as primitive novels in the article "Marco Aurelio y Faustina" and of all the works as predecessors of the novel in the essays "Fray Antonio de Guevara o la ascética novelada" and "Fray Antonio de Guevara y la invención de Cide Hamete"; and Redondo's interpretation of the *Libro áureo* as epideictic discourse in *Guevara et l'Espagne*.²¹ Chapters reserved for the interpretation of Guevara's works as literature in Grey's, Rallo Gruss's and Concejo's books do not pretend to be much more than syntheses of previous criticism.²²

The little progress in the interpretation of Guevara's works as literature is consistent with a trend in criticism which, perhaps because it is determined by the values of our literary system, is rarely noted, still less often opposed. Dominated by the novel of the last century, criticism of prose has concentrated on narrative to the exclusion of almost every other organising principle.²³ Since only one of Guevara's works, *Una década de césares*, includes much narrative, the superabundant resources of narratology are of little use.²⁴ Not that this prevents critics from attempting to make use of them. Márquez Villanueva describes a narrator in "El narrador narrado o el obispo inverosímil", a section of "Fray Antonio de Guevara y la invención de Cide Hamete" concerned with the *Epístolas*

²⁰René Costes, *Antonio de Guevara: son oeuvre*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études Hispaniques, fasc. X-2 (Bordeaux: Férét et fils, 1926).

²¹Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "Fray Antonio de Guevara o la ascética novelada," in *Espiritualidad y literatura en el siglo XVI* (Madrid: Ediciones Alfaguara, 1968), pp. 15-65. Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "Fray Antonio de Guevara y la invención de Cide Hamete," in *Fuentes literarias cervantinas* (Madrid: Gredos, 1973), pp. 183-257. Redondo, *Guevara et l'Espagne*, pp. 471-98.

²²Grey, *A Forgotten Renaissance Author*, chap. I, "Guevara in his Tradition" (pp. 1-22). Rallo Gruss, *Guevara en su contexto*, pt. II, chaps. 1 & 2, "Directrices de la composición de las obras" and "Las obras guevarianas como realización genérica" (pp. 209-321). Concejo, *Un ensayista del siglo XVI*, chap. II, "Rasgos fundamentales del ensayismo en Guevara" (pp. 48-94).

²³Even structuralism, otherwise so capable and willing to treat the hitherto untreated, sometimes seems, as at the beginning of Roland Barthes's "L'analyse structurale des récits", wholly blind to other organising principals.

²⁴The only critic at all aware of this is Márquez Villanueva who in "Guevara y Cide Hamete" comments: "Notemos que ningún libro de Guevara ofrece [...] una *fábula*, pero al mismo tiempo está bien claro que no encierran entre sus tapas una sola verdad en el sentido literario convencional." (p. 193)

familiares (pp. 219-35). So does Rallo Gruss in "Las relaciones del narrador y el receptor", a section of *Guevara en su contexto* mostly concerned with the *Menosprecio de corte*, the *Aviso de privados* and the *Arte de marear* (pp. 218-24). And Concejo and Prieto also refer, on a few occasions, to a narrator of the *Epístolas familiares*. The main body of some of the letters is narrative. A few other letters include narratives of news. And both letters and treatises include narrative in the form of *narratio*, an account of facts relevant to the argument to follow, and of real *exempla*. The principal structures, however, the structures which extend the length of the texts of most of the letters, of the letter collection and of the treatises are not narratives. What narratives there are in each of these works are secondary structures. To mistake their principal structures for narratives is to judge by the wrong criteria and inevitably, therefore, to reach conclusions of little or no value. No wonder that the 'narrator' of the *Epístolas familiares* seems to possess extraordinary powers of characterization, given that the principal function of this kind of letter collection is autobiographical. No wonder that the 'narrators' of the *Menosprecio de corte*, the *Aviso de privados* and the *Arte de marear* seem to Rallo Gruss to possess extraordinary powers of organization, given that these works are argumentative. The lack of appropriate general theories equivalent to narratology, theories, above all, for argumentative discourse, but also for collections of letters and biographies, seems to have hindered interpretation, retarding progress in spite of the commitment to it evident in the 1970s. The little progress in interpretation of Guevara's works and also treatment of them as matter for cultural history are probably consequences of the lack of appropriate critical theories.

The chief reason for the persistence of Guevara's works at the margins of the canon, however, is neither the lack of nor the little progress made in literary interpretation, but critics' failure to recognise the principal causes of their neglect and to oppose them as much as possible. There are, it is to be suspected, three. The first is that Guevara's use of allegedly fake learning prohibits him from standing shoulder to shoulder with authors who are, if not truly learned, at least honest. Another is that his reputation as vain, loquacious, foolish and shameless seems incompatible with writing of enduring value. And the third is that most of his works are discourse at the margins of literature.

Until the issue of Guevara's faulty, fictitious or fake learning is settled to the

satisfaction of the literary establishment, his works will continue to be regarded, quite rightly perhaps, with no small measure of suspicion. Instead of pursuing such a settlement, however, critics of Guevara's works have divided over the issue into two sets of mutually antagonistic apologists. Some, such as Costes and Redondo, tend to mitigate the offence, arguing that Guevara used editions of poor quality, that he was forced to rely on his memory, that he was careless and reluctant to revise, that his works were poorly printed and that errors in them are not much more numerous than in those of other authors of the same period.²⁵ To which it may be objected that some of these authors, of whom Pedro de Rúa, the author of three *Cartas* censuring faulty and fake learning in *Una década de césares*, the *Arte de marear*, the *Menosprecio de corte* and some of the *Epístolas familiares*, is not the least important in this case, somehow managed to overcome all the difficulties mentioned to produce texts of almost faultless learning.²⁶ Other critics, such as Lida, Márquez Villanueva, Rallo Gruss and Concejo, deny the offence, arguing that Guevara's learning functions as fiction.²⁷ To which it may be objected that such learning is not fictitious enough, but compared, for example, to the ridiculously titled books listed in the catalogue of the library of the Abbey of Saint Victor, reproduced in the seventh chapter of *Pantagruel*, or to the ridiculously anachronistic authorities cited in Francesillo de Zúñiga's *Crónica escandalosa*, is all too verisimilar and, as such, deceptive or fake. The chief defect of both *apologiae*, however, is that the issue is generalised, marginalised and thus, perhaps, surreptitiously minimised. Both *apologiae* are single theories to account for every fault or instance of fictitious learning throughout Guevara's *oeuvre* and are presented in paragraphs, sections or chapters separate from those reserved for interpretation. Yet, since all but one of Guevara's works, *Una década de césares*, either is or mostly consists of argumentative discourse, the value of the proofs, of

²⁵Costes, *Guevara: son oeuvre*, pp. 35-51. Redondo, *Guevara et l'Espagne*, pp. 544-72.

²⁶The *Cartas* were first published at Burgos by Juan de Zurita in 1549. I have used the edition in the *Epistolario español: colección de cartas de españoles ilustres antiguos*, compiled by Eugenio de Ochoa, vol. I, BAE vol. XIII (Madrid: Atlas, 1945), pp. 229-50.

²⁷Lida, "Guevara: Edad Media," pp. 373-4. Márquez Villanueva, "Guevara y Cide Hamete," pp. 194-200. Rallo Gruss, *Guevara en su contexto*, pp. 76-88. Concejo, *Un ensayista*, pp. 179-91.

authorities and real *exempla*, the forms which faulty or fictitious learning usually take, is an issue specific and central to interpretation of each one of them. Fictitious learning may be amusing and acceptable in a humorous letter, but faults are deceptive and, unless corrected, unacceptable in a biography. Faulty or fictitious learning is not merely one of a number of equally interesting issues, it is the critical one, the axis upon which the interpretation and evaluation of each of Guevara's works turns.

Except for Márquez Villanueva, critics have not recognised that Guevara's reputation is intimately related to the value of his ethical and devotional treatises, the *Relox de príncipes*, the *Menosprecio de corte*, the *Aviso de privados*, the *Oratorio de religiosos* and the *Monte Calvario*. For in each case it is impossible to differentiate the author from the implied author, to recite the *locus classicus* of twentieth century criticism's treatment of the matter, the major premiss from which Proust deduced the chief shortcoming of Sainte-Beuve's method; "un livre est le produit d'un autre *moi* que celui que nous manifestons dans nos habitudes, dans la société, dans nos vices."²⁸ Since the ethos implied by a treatise exhibits a suasory function, the reader has a right to check that it is consistent with the author's behaviour.²⁹ Guevara's ethical and devotional treatises will continue to be neglected, as of uncertain value, until the truthfulness or falseness of his reputation is confirmed. The three biographies of Guevara, Costes's *Antonio de Guevara: sa vie*, Jack Gibbs's *Fray Antonio de Guevara (1481-1545)*, and the first two parts of Redondo's *Guevara et l'Espagne*, by concentrating on his career, on the *cursus honorum* of royal preacher, chronicler and councillor and bishop of Guadix and of Mondoñedo, imply that their subject could not have been vain,

²⁸ Marcel Proust, "La méthode de Sainte-Beuve," in *«Contre Sainte-Beuve» suivi de «Nouveaux mélanges»* (Paris: Gallimard, 1954), p. 137.

²⁹ The contract of the author and reader of ethical and devotional treatises is, in this respect, no different from that of the orator and the audience. Hence the insistence of rhetors, ancient, medieval and modern, on the need to be good or virtuous. See, for instance, Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* XII, i & ii, Vives, *De ratione dicendi* I, xiii and, on the vocation of preachers in the Middle Ages, James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 282-4.

loquacious, shameless or foolish.³⁰ This, however, is to promote a different reputation, not to demonstrate the falseness of the other one.

Of these three causes of the neglect of Guevara's works, only the third is, at the moment, irresistible. The letter and the letter-collection are discursive practices which are beginning to attract critical attention, a development from which the *Epístolas familiares* can only benefit. These two, however, like the ethical and devotional treatises and *Una década de césares*, a biography-collection, are all discursive practices at the margins of literature and, without a great upheaval in our literary system, so they will remain.

The works at the centre of the canon of sixteenth century prose now are primitive novels. And the *Libro áureo* has been recognised as a primitive novel since, at the latest, the turn of this century, when Menéndez y Pelayo included it in the *Orígenes de la novela*. Although its status as a primitive novel was initially doubted by him and has remained somewhat uncertain, it has never been disproved or even denied since then.

Guevara's reputation is immaterial to the interpretation and evaluation of the *Libro áureo*. The 'contract' between the novelist and the reader makes it so. The novel certainly implies an ethos. The authority of the novelist, however, unlike that of the orator, the preacher or the author of ethical and devotional treatises, is not secured by the consistency of the implied ethos with his or her behaviour. And there is nothing to be gained by checking that consistency. Proust's maxim is good for the *Libro áureo*. The work may be treated no differently from the *Celestina* and the *Viaje de Turquía*, of whose authors little or nothing is known.

Unlike many or, perhaps, all of Guevara's other works, the *Libro áureo* cannot be censured for faulty or fake learning. Discourse informed by the principal of verisimilitude can only be artless, never exactly erroneous or deceitful. Rua, for one, recognised not only that there were no errors made or deceptions practised in the *Libro áureo*, but that, on the contrary, the artfulness of the fictitious learning secures Guevara's reputation as an author. Just before the end of the last of the three *Cartas*, he compares the *Libro áureo* to the

³⁰René Costes, *Antonio de Guevara: sa vie*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études Hispaniques, fasc. X-1 (Bordeaux: Férét et fils, 1925). Jack Gibbs, *Vida de fray Antonio de Guevara (1481-1545)* (Valladolid: Miñón, n.d. [but 1960?]).

Palladium, explaining that he refrained from bringing his formidable learning to bear on it because, in his own words, "no quiero aquí ser Ulises, ó como dice Varron, Sexculises."³¹ A wise decision. It would not have fallen to the same critical strategy as those which he had pursued to such devastating effect against *Una década de césares*, the *Arte de marear*, the *Menosprecio de corte* and some of the *Epístolas familiares*. Where, after all, could he begin? Or rather, where would it all end? To discredit authorities or real *exempla* would be to imply faith in the veracity of the speeches, letters and biography. To discredit these would be to imply faith in the veracity of their ancient sources. To discredit these would be to imply faith in the veracity of the account of their recovery and translation. And to discredit that would be to imply faith in the ostensible meaning of the equivocal prefatory material. Had he mistaken the *Libro áureo* for a (bad) biography of Marcus Aurelius, he would have made a very wise fool of himself.

The *Libro áureo* is famous for being one of the greatest publishing successes of Spanish prose fiction in the sixteenth century. Exactly how great depends upon how many and how extensive any alterations may be before a new work comes into being. It could be argued -somewhat provocatively- that the work was not a great publishing success at all because it was not published in print until 1929, when an edition of the Escorial manuscript by Raymond Foulché Delbosc came out in the *Revue hispanique*.³² For this text is probably the one presented to Carlos V and hence authorised by Guevara, and it differs in two important respects from any of the editions published in print. It could also be argued -equally provocatively- that the publishing success obtained by the work has been greatly underestimated since the second and subsequent editions of the *Relox de príncipes* include an abridged version of the *Libro áureo* at the end.

³¹ Pedro de Rúa, *Cartas*, p. 250. "Sexculises" is an obscene pun on the title of one of the *Saturae Menippeae*, "Sesqueulixes", which is itself paronomasia meaning, literally, "Ulysses-and-a-half." The extant fragments indicate that Varro satirized the hero as too clever for his own good. See *M. Terentii Varronis Satvrvrm Menippearvm: Reliquiae*, edited with an introduction and appendix by Alexander Reise (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1865), p. 209.

³²R. Foulché-Delbosc, ed., "Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio," *Revue Hispanique* LXXVI (1929); (Vaduz: Krauss Reprint, 1966), pp. 1-319. All page references are to this edition of the *Libro áureo*. Latin numerals in brackets refer either to chapters in Book One or to letters in Book Two.

The work exists in at least seven more or less different states.³³ There are three extant manuscripts, one at the Escorial (g.II.14) and two others at the Hispanic Society of America (B.1215 & B.1216). The Escorial manuscript and one of those at the Hispanic Society of America (B.1216) include a prologue addressed to Carlos V and end with the letter to Piramus. The other manuscript and the first edition, published at Seville by Jacobo Cromberger in 1528, lack this prologue and end with the letter to Livia, the one to Piramus being reinserted at the beginning of Book Two. The first edition begins on the recto side of folio V with what is termed in the epigraph in the Escorial manuscript the "Argumento del interprete", retitled "Prologo".³⁴ Most subsequent editions, according to Redondo (p. 522), reproduce this text. He shows that this is the case for Juan de Molina's edition, which was published at Valencia by Juan Jofre in 1528. The edition published at Paris by Pierre Vidoué in 1529, which I have inspected, lacks the prologue addressed to Carlos and ends with the letter to Livia, the one to Piramus beginning Book Two.³⁵ The same occurs in John Bouchier's English translation of René Bertaut de la Grise's French translation.³⁶

The edition published at Rome without imprint in 1531 includes the first

³³I have not seen Froldi's *Premessa e historia* which presumably makes the differences between texts of the work quite clear. I gather my data about the *Libro áureo* and the *Relox de príncipes* from Redondo's *Guevara et l'Espagne* (pp. 498-522) and from Simón Díaz's bibliography (nos. 2929-991). Both of these cite Froldi.

³⁴Redondo speculates that Jacobo Cromberger did not discover that Guevara had obtained a *privilegio* for the *Libro áureo* until after he had finished printing the edition and that, in order to be able to argue convincingly that he had no idea who the author was, he had the second, third and fourth leaves, on which the prologue addressed to Carlos V by Guevara was printed, torn out. He also notes, however, that although his son Juan bought the *privilegio* from Guevara in 1529, the prologue was not printed in subsequent editions of the work by him or by others (*Guevara et l'Espagne*, pp. 506-9). And Jack Gibbs concludes his article "The Status of the Cromberger Editions of Antonio de Guevara's *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio* and *Relox de príncipes*" (*BHS* LIV (1977), p.201): "apart from the 1528 edition of the *Libro áureo* and the 1557 edition of the *Relox*, [...] all the other editions of these works from the Cromberger presses are certainly or very possibly printed under a contract with the author."

³⁵Antonio de Guevara, *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio* (Paris: Pierre Vidoué, 1529).

³⁶La Grise's translation was first published at Paris in 1531. Bouchier's translation was first published at London in 1534. I have inspected the fifth edition: *The Golden Booke of Marcus Avrelivs Emperovr and Eloqvnt oratovr* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1542).

seven chapters of Book Three of the *Relox de príncipes*, Guevara's second work, as letters 20 to 26. There are even more insertions of material from the *Relox de príncipes* in the edition of the *Libro áureo* published at Venice by Juan Bautista Pedrezano in 1532. The prologue consists of the "Argumento" of the second work followed by the translator's note of the first. Book Two consists of 23 letters, numbers 13 to 16 being chapters 42 of Book One, 24 of Book Two and 17 and 18 of Book One of the *Relox de príncipes*. The edition or compilation made by Juan de Molina and published at Valencia by Juan Navarro in 1532 is perhaps as much a version of the second as of the first work. It consists of three books. The first and the second are mostly and the last wholly derived from the *Relox de príncipes*. The edition published at Antwerp by Johannes Steelsius in 1550 is the same as the first except for the twentieth letter, which is derived from chapter 26 of Book Two of the *Relox de príncipes*.

The last sixteen chapters of the second and subsequent editions of the *Relox de príncipes* constitute an abridged version of the *Libro áureo*.³⁷ The difference between this supplement and the assimilation of other material from the first work into the second tends to be ignored by critics, anxious, perhaps, to remedy confusion of the two works in the past and to prevent it in the future. The supplement consists of seven chapters and nine letters reproduced more or less exactly and in, with one exception, the same order as in the first edition of the *Libro áureo* and without interference from any other material. The other twenty chapters and ten letters from the first work are revised and re-ordered and integrated into the *Relox de príncipes*. The supplement is advertised by a change in the title of the publication. The first edition of the second work, published at Valladolid by Nicolas Tierri in 1529, was titled "Libro llamado relox de principes enel qual va incorporado el muy famoso libro de Marco Aurelio". The second edition and the first with the supplement was titled "Libro del eloquentissimo Emperador Marco aurelio con el Relox de principes", with the explanation, "Van mas que en los passados añadidas nueve cartas y siete capitulos". And after this the publication is usually titled simply "Marco aurelio con el Relox de principes."

If the text published at Seville in 1528 is that of the *Libro áureo*, then so is the

³⁷I have inspected a copy of the sixth edition: *Marco Aurelio con el Relox de príncipes* (Seville: Juan Cromberger, 1537).

one published at Antwerp in 1550 and, by allowing an increasing number of alterations, so are all the other editions and the abridgement included with the *Relox de príncipes*. There are grounds, therefore, for adding the second and subsequent editions of the *Relox de príncipes* to those of the *Libro áureo* in order to calculate editions of the work, as opposed to editions of a text.

The *Libro áureo* was Guevara's greatest publishing success in the sixteenth century by a large margin. Spanish texts titled "Libro áureo" were republished at least 36 times, nearly four times as often as that of the *Relox de príncipes*, which had 10 editions and reprints, and nearly twice as often as the first part of the *Epístolas familiares*, its nearest rival within his oeuvre, which had 20.³⁸ And if the abridgement in the last sixteen chapters of the second and subsequent editions of the *Relox de príncipes* is counted as another version of the work, then another 9 editions and reprints of the text can be added to the 36, making a grand total of 45 editions and reprints of the Spanish text of different versions of the *Libro áureo* published in the sixteenth century.

For prose fiction such success was very unusual, almost unique. In his article "The problem of the 'best-seller' in Spanish Golden-Age literature," Keith Whinnom ranks the *Libro áureo* second only to the *Celestina* as 'best-selling' Spanish prose fiction written during that period, a greater publishing success than *Guzmán de Alfarache*, the first part of the *Guerras civiles de Granada*, the *Diana* and *Don Quijote*, in that order.³⁹

It also obtained a great publishing success in translation. There were 27 editions and reprints of the three Italian translations by Fausto Longicino, Mambrini Roseo and Cosimo Baroncelli, 22 of la Grise's French translation, 13 of Bouchier's English translation and 5 of an anonymous Dutch translation, all

³⁸Data about editions and reprints of the Spanish texts and of translations of Guevara's works is taken from Simón Díaz's bibliography, which is based on both Froldi's *Premessa e historia* and Lino Gómez Canedo's catalogue raisonnée, "Las obras de fray Antonio de Guevara: ensayo de un catálogo completo de sus ediciones," (*Archivo Ibero-Americano* VI (1946), pp. 441-603).

³⁹Keith Whinnom, "The problem of the 'best-seller' in Spanish Golden-Age literature," *BHS* LVII (1980), p. 193. Whinnom's 'best-seller' list is mostly compiled from data in Simón Díaz's bibliography.

before 1600.⁴⁰ The work must have lost little or nothing in translation. Considering the number of translations made and the fact that 17 of the 36 editions and reprints of the Spanish text made before 1600 were published outside the Spanish homeland, it might be concluded that there was a greater demand for the *Libro áureo* in foreign markets than in the domestic one.

No white elephant in its heyday, therefore, and impregnable to the critical strategy to which many of its author's other works fall, detached from his reputation and of the genre of works at the centre of the canon of sixteenth century prose, remote, in short, from the principal causes of the neglect of its author's works, the *Libro áureo* is, of all of them, the one most likely to win good opinions now. Yet it is, nonetheless, no nearer the centre of the canon than the rest and, what is more, no nearer than it was seventeen years ago. It is not separated from the rest and promoted as different, as a primitive novel -or even as an extraordinary publishing success- by Castro Díaz or Prieto. The latter never even alludes to the *Libro áureo*'s status as a novel.⁴¹ Frolidi's critical edition has never materialised. The most recent edition is still the one made from the Escorial manuscript by Foulché-Delbosc and published in the *Revue hispanique* sixty years ago. (There have been, in contrast, four editions of the *Menosprecio de corte* published in this century, only one less than there were in Spain in the

⁴⁰See: H. Thomas, "The English Translations of Guevara's Work" in *Estudios «in memoriam» de Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín (1875-1926)* vol. II (Madrid: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad Central, 1930), pp. 565-82; F.F. Lopes, "Traduções portuguesas de Fray Antonio de Guevara" *Archivo ibero-americano* 6 (1946), pp. 605-7; J. Gibbs, "Two Additions to the Italian Bibliography of Antonio de Guevara" *Modern Language Review* 43 (1948), pp. 244-6; G. Manciani Giancarlo, "Antonio de Guevara e i suoi traduttori italiani" *Annali* 16 (1949), pp. 147-74. I have not seen L. Brunori, *Le traduzioni italiane del «Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio» e del «Relox de príncipes» di Antonio de Guevara* (Imola: Galeati, 1979).

⁴¹I suppose that this is a sign of uncertainty. It is not an implicit denial of the work's status as a primitive novel. For there is nothing in the passages on the work necessarily opposed to awarding it such status.

sixteenth).⁴² Critics have not concentrated on the *Libro áureo* at the expense of the rest of Guevara's oeuvre. The progress apparently made in the interpretation of it as a primitive novel by Márquez Villanueva in "Marco y Faustina" and "Guevara y Cide Hamete" has not been carried on. Indeed, the work's status as a primitive novel -upon which its impregnability and detachment depend and to which its publishing success must be attributed- has seemed recently less certain than ever.⁴³

The *Libro áureo*'s status as a novel has perhaps never been very certain. In its heyday the genre was not recognised. And by the time it was, the work had gone out of print.⁴⁴ In this century, until "Marco y Faustina" was published, the *Libro áureo*'s status as a novel was an assumption rather than an issue. Menéndez y Pelayo noted his reason for hesitating to classify the work as a novel (p. 109), but not the one(s) which determined his final decision. Describing the mixed genre of the *Relox de príncipes*, Costes suggested that he would classify the *Libro áureo* as

⁴²The sixteenth century editions of the *Menosprecio de corte* are: Valladolid, 1539; Pamplona, 1579; and, with the *Aviso de privados* and the *Arte de marear*, Alcalá, 1592; and, in the *Obras*, Valladolid, 1539 and 1545. The twentieth century editions of the work are: M. Martínez de Burgos, ed., *Clásicos castellanos*, no. 29 (Madrid: La Letura, 1915); *Colección universal*, nos. 615-6 (Madrid: n.i., 1922); Pablo Pou y Fernández, ed., *Biblioteca clásica Ebro* (Zaragoza: Ebro, n.d. [but 1969]); and, with the *Arte de marear*, Asunción Rallo [Gruss], ed., (Madrid: Cátedra, 1984).

⁴³The causes of the publishing success obtained by the *Libro áureo* and by some of Guevara's other works was an issue first raised by Costes in *Guevara: son oeuvre* (pp. 63-4), was the chief point at issue for Lida and has been argued -in passing, at least- by almost every critic since. The arguments are very weak: the two immediate causes most often mentioned are Guevara's style and the curiosity of the not very well educated about antiquity. Worse still, they are special pleading which, instead of overcoming the prejudice belied by the issue, reinforces it. The issue is not worth raising: the *Libro áureo*, like the *Celestina* and *Don Quijote*, obtained a great publishing success because it was good at being what it was, at being what is now called a novel.

⁴⁴There were no editions of the whole Spanish text -as opposed to extracts from the work- published after the one made at Barcelona in 1647 until Foulché-Delbosc's. And the only translation of this period seems to have been the Armenian one made by Gabriel Hamazaspean and published at Venice in 1738.

a novel, but the matter was not treated anywhere else by him.⁴⁵ Lida, mentioning Feijoo's comparison of the work to the *Cyropedia*, also suggested that she would classify it as a novel (p. 387), but the matter was not treated anywhere else by her either. Gibbs called the work "an early and very disjointed historical romance" (p. 91) -not, presumably, to indicate any affinity to the mode usually denoted by that term, but to emphasize that it has "no historical basis beyond a few names". He too, however, did not pursue the issue any further than this.

Márquez Villanueva insists on the *Libro áureo*'s status as a primitive novel. He concludes "Marco y Faustina" arguing that it is a mistake to look back in time, as Lida does, in order to understand the work. On the contrary, "es preciso mirar hacia adelante, hacia un más allá que es, sencillamente, el de la novela." And in "Guevara y Cide Hamete" he argues that -in, as I understand it, every one of his works- "Guevara comenzaba a pisar el terreno de la ficción moderna, esto es, de la novela tal como la concebimos hoy." (p. 193) Other critics either avoid the issue or come to the conclusion that the work is, at most, a precursor of the novel. In his interpretation of the *Libro áureo* in *Guevara* Jones assumes that it is a novel rather than arguing the issue (pp. 41-52).⁴⁶ In *Guevara et l'Espagne*, Redondo admits that Marcus' character "ouvrait une voie nouvelle, qui devait conduire au roman, comme l'a fait remarquer dernièrement fort à propos F. Márquez Villanueva" (p. 489) and, citing the end of "Marco y Faustina", leaves the matter at that. Rallo Gruss, who classifies the *Libro áureo* and the biographies which constitute *Una década de césares* as "vidas guevarianas", in a section on the "rasgos novelísticos" of these biographies, makes this, very carefully qualified proposition:

⁴⁵In *Guevara: son oeuvre*, Costes argued that "si l'auteur s'était en effet borné, comme il le dit dans son prologue, à faire alterner les chapitres du *Marc-Aurèle* avec ses réflexions propres, on pourrait considérer l'*Horloge des princes* comme un simple roman historique à prétensions morales; mais tant d'anecdotes, de lettres, de harangues, en un mot tant de matière étrangère s'ajoute au récit, que la ligne de l'ouvrage est rompue et que cette étrange horloge à répétition apparaît comme une grande pièce disloquée, dont les aiguilles marchent à leur guise, et dont la sonnerie retentit plus souvent qu'aux heures et aux demies." (p. 33)

⁴⁶Further on (pp. 146-8), however, Jones resumes the arguments advanced by Márquez Villanueva in "Guevara y Cide Hamete".

Sin distorsionar el contexto histórico en que se componen estas biografías, y por tanto sin pretender encontrar en ellas un auténtico relato concebido como novela, existen una serie de elementos que, al surgir de una interpretación libre de varios fuentes y haber pasado por la imaginación de un autor que no cree en las historias profanas, están anunciando el género novelesco sin haber llegado a cuajarse en él. (pp. 283-4)

Burrell argues that the work's tendency to anticipate the realist novel is opposed by "tendencias antimiméticas y autoreferenciales" proper to Menippean satire (p. 121). And, in her opinion, the latter are stronger:

aunque es cierto que [el *Libro áureo*] constituye un paso importante hacia la ficción realista, su identificación más estrecha no es necesariamente con la forma de la novela, sino con el género de la sátira menípea. (p. 122)

Rallo Gruss's and Burrell's reluctance to award the work the full status of a primitive novel is not mere scholarly caution. Although they do not take issue with any of his arguments, the case made by Márquez Villanueva for awarding it such status is not convincing. Their own case that the work is only a precursor of the novel, however, is made from much the same arguments as those advanced by him and is not rendered more convincing by the substitution of a less audacious proposition. If the experts, the guevaristas, those with a vested interest in securing the work's admission to the canon, cannot make a good case for awarding it the status of a precursor of the novel, then the historians and encyclopaedists and surveyors of the literature of the period, all those with a general knowledge of the field who decide the constitution of the canon, have good cause to leave the work at its margins.

Yet the *Libro áureo* is a primitive novel. The method adopted by these three critics is flawed. A convincing case can be made by comparing the work's construction to that of some other primitive novels. This comparison requires knowledge of the work's principal structures, which is a matter in even more doubt than the work's status as a novel. In the body of my dissertation, therefore, I shall anatomize the work and, by identifying its principal structures, show that they are put together in a fashion equivalent to that of some other primitive novels. Before this, however, in Chapter One I shall support my contention that the case made by Márquez Villanueva, Rallo Gruss and Burrell is not convincing, that the method adopted by these three is flawed and that the work's principal

structures have not been identified.

To leave the *Libro áureo* at the margins of the canon without good reason is not only almost wilful ignorance of the literature of the past, but also perhaps to the detriment of that of the future. As Keith Whinnom said, referring to extinct literary traditions in *Spanish Literary Historiography: Three Forms of Distortion*, "we are missing something, losing something, by our inability to appreciate it."⁴⁷ Yet the *Libro áureo*'s persistence at the margins of the canon is not only a distortion of literary historiography. Primitive novels are not the 'crowning glory' of sixteenth century Spanish prose. Nor is it the case that all writing is equally valuable and that the premium set upon primitive novels is quite arbitrary. Our literary system sets a premium on primitive novels and also determines the production of new novels. The two activities are not, perhaps, wholly unconnected. Not to revise the canon to include works which are wrongly excluded or to promote those which are wrongly confined to the margins, therefore, may well affect new work.

⁴⁷Keith Whinnom, *Spanish Literary Historiography: Three Forms of Distortion* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1967), p. 14.

Chapter 1

Previous Criticism

Considering how marginal the work is and hence how unfamiliar it must be, it would be prudent, first of all, to describe the work as briefly, but also as exactly, as possible.

The work consists of two books preceded by a prologue addressed to the Holy Roman Emperor Carlos V and a translator's note. Book One purports to be a biography of the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius. Book Two is a collection of nineteen letters, one of which purports to have been sent to him, the rest to have been composed by him.

The prologue consists of a dedication to Carlos preceded by an argument to persuade him to imitate the subject of the biography. The translator's note consists of argument of the thesis that truth, although it may be obscured for some time, eventually reveals itself, followed by an account of the coming into being of the text.

Book One consists of biographical and metatextual discourse and transcripts of speeches.

The biographical discourse is a description of the subject's character, a record ordered, in a few places, by theme, of his habits, sayings and some significant deeds. Ten of these deeds are recorded in summary narratives retarded by the intercalation of speech and, on two occasions, of description. These are: his selection of tutors for his heir, Commodus, after the death of his other son, Verissimus, who was to have inherited the Empire (V-IX); his refusal to make a quick decision about a marriage proposed for one of his daughters soon after he was seriously injured in a riding accident (XI-XIII); his freeing of some prisoners at a triumph (XVI-XVII); his refusal to allow his wife, Faustina, to look round his study (XIX-XXI); his exhortation to his courtiers to make good use of their time after a crisis revealed a shortage of capable ones (XXII-XXV); his compassionate response to a friend's misfortunes (XXVI-XXVII); his refusal to accept the advice of his doctors to stop reading after he has succumbed to an outbreak of plague in Rome and withdrawn to Parthinopolis (XXIX-XXX); his recital of a speech which, in his youth, he had heard delivered by a peasant from the Danube as a sign of the change in Roman morals (XXXI-XXXII); his refusal to enjoy a triumph to celebrate a victory (XXXIII -XXXVII); his reprehension of Faustina for furtively

obstructing his arrangements for the marriage of a daughter (XXXVIII); and his death, on campaign in Pannonia (XXXIX-XLVIII).

The metatextual discourse consists of reference to, selection, collation and citation of other relevant texts, dating of events and glossing of matters which are not common knowledge.

Approximately half of Book One consists of fifteen long speeches, one delivered by Panucius, Marcus' secretary, the rest by Marcus himself. In the first Marcus dismisses five learned men, selected as tutors to his son, because they behaved foolishly at his birthday party (VII). In the second he commissions the nine remaining tutors and gives them eight directions regarding pedagogic method (VIII and IX). In the third he refuses to make a decision on a marriage proposed for one of his daughters (XII and XIII). In the fourth he explains to Fulvius, a senator, what motivated an act of clemency during a triumph (XVII). In the fifth he refuses to allow his wife to enter his study (XIX-XXI). In the sixth he exhorts his courtiers to busy themselves in their work and not to be idle (XXIII-XXV). In the seventh he explains why he will not stop reading although he has a fever and exhorts his doctors, friends and favourites to study and learn as much as possible (XXIX and XXX). In the eighth he illustrates changes in Roman behaviour with regard to truthfulness and flattery by reciting a speech by Milenus, a peasant from the banks of the Danube (XXXI and XXXII). In the ninth Marcus explains to Albinus, another senator, why he was sad during a triumph and initially reluctant to celebrate it (XXXV). In the tenth he reproves his wife and their daughter, Lucilla, for their behaviour during the triumph, exhorting Faustina to restrict their daughter's freedom and Lucilla not to be so immodest (XXXVI and XXXVII). In the eleventh he reproves his wife for obstructing a marriage which he had arranged for one of his daughters (XXXVIII). In the twelfth Panucius exhorts Marcus not to fear death, but to accept it with fortitude (XL). In the thirteenth Marcus replies, explaining that he is not miserable because he is dying but because he fears that Commodus, who will inherit the empire, will become a tyrant (XLII). In the fourteenth Marcus gives directions to his son's regents and tutors regarding the execution of their duties (XLIII). In his last speech Marcus exhorts his son to be virtuous, gives directions regarding proper behaviour as emperor, commends certain relatives and the worship of the gods to his son and advises him to follow the precepts for rulers composed by Ptolomy Arsacid, an

Egyptian king, and inscribed on a triptych which he gives him (XLV-XLVIII).

There are six kinds of letter in the collection in Book Two; the consolatory, the exhortatory, the vituperative, the amatory, the expository and the conciliatory. There are six letters of the first kind: to Mercurius, whose ship has sunk (III); to Torquatus, Domicius and Antigonus, who have each been exiled (V, VI and IX); to Lavinia, whose husband has died (VIII); and to Pirus, who is melancholy (XIX). There are three exhortatory letters: to Cincinatus, urging him not to relinquish the office of praetor in order to become a merchant (II); to Claudius and Claudina, urging them not to behave immaturely (VII); and to Bohemia, urging her not to join him in Dacia (XIII). Her reply is vituperative (XV). There are three love-letters: two to Macrina (XVI and XVII); and another to Livia (XVIII). There are two expository letters; to Antigonus, on rigorous law enforcement (X); and to eight Roman prostitutes, on the origin of the first women (XIII). Lastly, there are four conciliatory letters: two to Catullus, on Verissimus' death (I) and on affairs in Rome (XII); another to Cornelius (III) on a triumph held in Marcus' honour; and one to Lambertus (XI) on the exile of some fools from Rome.

The case for awarding the *Libro áureo* the status of a primitive novel rests on an assessment of the extent to which it meets three criteria, three qualities habitually mentioned in descriptions of the genre: complexity of character; realism or verisimilitude; and narrative coherence or unity of plot. These three are, when not equivalent, intimately related to the major premisses of Márquez Villanueva's arguments in "Marco y Faustina" and "Guevara y Cide Hamete", to the three "rasgos novelísticos" traced by Rallo Gruss and to the three "técnicas de la novela no idealista" detected by Burrell.¹ Assessment of the extent to which these three criteria are met by the *Libro áureo* seems an eminently expedient and trustworthy method of deciding the work's status as a novel. And by these criteria, the *Libro áureo* is not much of a novel.

¹Punctiliously, but rather pointlessly, Burrell cites Lázaro Carreter, Watt and Northrop Frye as authorities for the three criteria of the realist novel.

Complexity of character is the criterion on which Márquez Villanueva and Burrell concentrate most and, of the three, perhaps the one which the *Libro áureo* seems to meet best. Yet the arguments advanced by these two critics are weak. And this is, in both cases, not because of carelessness in confirming the proposition, nor even because of doubtful assumptions, but rather because the evidence which their arguments require just does not exist. Marcus' resemblance to characters in novels may amount to little more than that his privacy is invaded, a similarity touched on by Rallo Gruss.

In "Marco y Faustina", Márquez Villanueva argues that in the *Libro áureo* and the *Relox de príncipes* "Guevara bosqueja ya una técnica en que la busca del carácter como norma suprema del esfuerzo creador pueda adquirir toda su eficacia expresiva". As evidence he adduces signs of tension in Marcus' and Faustina's marriage.² Threatening to sunder their union are: Faustina's vice; the possibility that Commodus and her daughters may have inherited this from her; her tendency to spoil her children; the dishonour that she brings on Marcus by cuckolding him; and her suspicion that he commits adultery. Faustina's "malas costumbres" are mentioned by Marcus in the speech in which he refuses to allow her to look round his study (p. 88). And the possibility that Commodus and her daughters may take after her in this respect is twice mentioned by the author (p. 50 & p. 145). Her tendency to spoil her children is demonstrated on the occasion on which she behaves wantonly at a triumph and encourages Lucilla, one of their daughters, to do the same (pp. 128-9). That she was not a virgin when they married, that she often commits adultery, that Marcus is not the father of some of her children and that all this is well known at Rome are four allegations made by Bohemia (p. 298 & pp. 300-1). Faustina's suspicion that Marcus hides a lover in his study (p. 88) may be well founded for the letter to the Roman prostitutes, the correspondence with Bohemia and the three love-letters are all evidence of his lust when he was younger. Sustaining their union are: her beauty, which is mentioned by Marcus in the same breath as her "malas costumbres" and also by

²Although Márquez Villanueva's evidence is taken from the *Relox de príncipes*, his argument is even better for the *Libro áureo* because, as he notes, the signs of tension are "mucho más visible". I have suppressed evidence unique to the *Relox*, reciting only that which is common to both works. And all my page references are to the *Libro áureo*.

the author, as another trait possibly inherited by her daughters (p. 145); and their love for each other, signs of which are news of Faustina and requests and greetings from her conveyed in several of his letters, a love whose power can be gauged by the contrast with his second marriage, to Elia, who is mentioned by him only once, in his death bed speech to Commodus (p. 187). Márquez Villanueva concludes:

Soterrada en la garrulería del *Relox de príncipes* (y mucho más visible en el primero y superior *Marco Aurelio*) existe, pues, una estructura desprovista de todo sentido didáctico. E independiente, a la vez, de las muletillas literarias e ideológicas que para el tema y para la época había que esperar como inevitables. La historia de Marco Aurelio y Faustina ha quedado liberada de todo planteamiento dentro del marco de la misoginia o de las «claras mujeres», de los loores erasmistas del matrimonio o de la tradición tardo-gótica de las «joyes du mariage». No es, claro está, que Guevara las ignore ni deje de usarlas en tal cual momento, sino que las rechaza en cuantos módulos de validez creadora. El tema del matrimonio, dificultoso por antonomasia, busca allí su propio centro de gravedad en el terreno igualmente problemático de lo psicológico, renunciando a predicar ninguna otra lección que no sea la complejidad del individuo. No hay, pues, esquema doctrinal que pueda abarcar las involuciones de un carácter, o dar razón de por qué se aman, en medio de mutuas infidelidades, Marco Aurelio y Faustina, dos seres tan dispares. (p. 4)

The third of the "rasgos novelísticos" traced in the "vidas guevarianas" by Rallo Gruss is the inclusion of "inventarios de burlas o vicios de algunas emperadores". She argues that although the "burlas" and "vicios" do not constitute single chronological narratives and hence primitive novels like *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the attention to the trivial involves a great leap in the representation of character:

El salto se produce desde la figura histórica (fría) a la visualización de una persona que ha vivido y, por tanto, cumplido una trayectoria tanto a nivel público como particular. Máximo ejemplo de este hallazgo guevariano es la configuración de Marco Aurelio, ya modelo de príncipe en un gobierno justo, ya padre llorando a su hijo, o ya marido riñendo con Faustina. (p. 288)

And she cites "Marco y Faustina" as proof that he is represented as a living person rather than as an historical figure.

The third of the "técnicas de la novela no idealista" detected in the *Libro áureo* by Burrell is the creation and development of characters who are affected

and limited by their circumstances (p. 119). As proof of this she cites a previous section, "la presentación por contrastes de la personalidad de Marco" (pp. 94-116), where she argues that

la manera más eficaz de dar a la figura de Marco Aurelio una textura y densidad de personaje literario, recreación textual de una vida humana, es a través de una presentación en contraste con otras figuras. Surge de estos conflictos una imagen bien delineada del personaje, acendrado por contacto dinámico con otros seres. (p. 94)

She proceeds to describe the contrasts between him and Faustina (pp. 95-102), and Panucius (pp. 103-4) and Commodus (pp. 104-5) and between images of him as "pedante y frío" (pp. 106-10), as "lascivo" (pp. 110-4) and as an "amante cortés" (pp. 114-6). Relating these contrasts to the reader's role, she concludes that characters are represented as complex:

Los contrastes de personajes que hemos señalado aquí tienden a resolverse en pares binarios en que los dos elementos se clarifican y definen mutuamente. En esta situación el lector no solo percibe la oposición, sino que tiene que sacar sus propias conclusiones acerca de estas contrastes, y lo que dicen respecto a la personalidad de Marco Aurelio. [...] Guevara [...] se niega a pintar los personajes como seres unidimensionales: Marco no es totalmente bueno, ni son totalmente malas Bohemia y Faustina. (p. 116)

She also asserts that Marcus' character develops:

porque aunque no se patentice la trayectoria determinativa de los eventos que infunden sentido y coherencia a la vida de Marco Aurelio, si se provee un fondo orgánicamente explicativo, en estos retratos del personaje principal. En esta obra, el maduro productor del texto [vz Marcus] se ha formado en el crisol de las influencias primordiales, que se deprenen fácilmente de todos los elementos variados de que está compuesto el texto. Una la constituyen sus propias inclinaciones a la carne, que ha tenido que dominar, y la otra es su impotencia frente a los demás, una incapacidad de afectar ni siquiera a los miembros de su propia familia. El lector no tendrá ninguna dificultad en identificar como resultado concreto de estas influencias la voz desengañada y resignada del estoico Marco, autor de muchas secciones del texto. (pp. 117-8)

It is possible to discern, therefore, "un desarrollo de la personalidad del protagonista, en forma rudimentaria pero clara." (p. 120)

Burrell's assertion that Marcus' character develops is not, as she claims, self

evident. It flies in the face of the evidence. What is most easily discerned from the various elements of the text is the very lack of development, the sudden, shocking contrast between the moral rectitude implied by most of Marcus' behaviour as an adult, and the depravity of his youth revealed in letters thirteen to eighteen. Marcus is not resigned to his wife's, children's or anyone else's shortcomings. He is never shown to pass up an opportunity to reprehend a fault.³ He frequently mentions the difference between appearance and reality. Yet this *desengaño* is not easily identified as the "resultado concreto" of his juvenile "inclinaciones a la carne".⁴ Since there is not enough dated or dateable material with which to construct a chronological narrative of his life, it may be impossible to decide how these influenced his development. Moreover, considering Márquez Villanueva's interpretation, it must be counted a matter of some doubt whether Marcus has developed at all in this respect.

Nor is Burrell's argument that Marcus is given the "textura y densidad del personaje literario" by the contrasts drawn between him and other characters at all persuasive. It is not borne out by her own evidence. She herself notes that there is no contrast between Marcus and Panucius. There is only a momentary contrast between Marcus' customary wisdom and moral rectitude and his (apparent) fear of death when he succumbs to a fever on campaign in Pannonia:

En esta situación, Panucio se convierte en la voz auténtica de Marco Aurelio; es su conciencia, repitiendo lo que dijera Marco en otra ocasión semejante. De esta manera se desdobra la voz del emperador en dos: el secretario representa al Marco verdadero, y el viejo y quejoso moribundo pone de relieve la rectitud de su antiguo ser, por contraste. (pp. 103-4)⁵

³Although, to be exact, when Faustina asks to look round his study, Marcus does claim that, although he had been longing to reprehend her shortcomings, he had put off doing so until a suitable opportunity presented itself. See p. 87.

⁴In the section on Marcus' lascivious image she also asserts that "esta *persona* del joven motiva y justifica la máscara del viejo, porque este está transformado por el asqueado rechazo de su antiguo ser, en pro de una vida justa y sobria." (p. 114) However, she adduces no evidence of this here either.

⁵Even this contrast is illusory. In his reply to Panucius, Marcus claims that he is not greatly afraid of death and that his agitation springs from his fears for the empire after he has died, because it will be ruled by his dissolute son Commodus (pp. 161-2).

Nor are the contrasts between Marcus and Faustina and Commodus very great. Of the two distinguishing features of Faustina's character noted by Burrell, her "voluntariosidad" and her "supuesta inmoralidad sexual" (p. 95), the second is shared by Marcus. The difference between Marcus and Commodus is, likewise, merely intellectual: "Commodo es la figura exacta del joven Marco, pero sin la cualidad que salvó a éste de su desastroso camino: Commodo no tiene amor a la sabiduría, no exhibe curiosidad intelectual ninguna." (p. 104) Yet the chief weakness of Burrell's argument is not that she fails to adduce the evidence. It is that the evidence needed does not exist. There is so little data about Faustina, Commodus and Panucius, even in Marcus' speeches to them, that it cannot be the case that the differences between his relations with these three makes him a complex character.

Less persuasive still is Burrell's argument that the contrasts drawn between three images of Marcus makes his character complex. The difference between two of the images is of her own making and she herself suggests elsewhere that Marcus is not complex, but ambiguous and argues that this ambiguity makes him quite unlike characters in novels. There is no difference between "el Marco Aurelio lascivo", revealed in the correspondence with Bohemia, and "Marco como amante cortés", revealed in his love-letters to Macrina, who is married, and to Livia, who is a vestal virgin. The notion that courtly love is quite different from lust, which is what her distinction implies, has been discredited by, among many others, Otis H. Green in his essay "Courtly Love in the Spanish *Cancioneros*", which she cites.⁶ Nor is Marcus "pedante y frío" in his letter to the Roman prostitutes. He is boiling with rage and, quite careless of the truth, makes the answer to the question which the prostitutes pose about the origin of womankind a pretext for hurling abuse at them. It follows that there are two images of or dimensions to Marcus: the moral rectitude implied by his behaviour as an adult and his juvenile depravity. Complex or ambiguous, in either case Marcus is not like characters in novels:

⁶Otis H. Green, "Courtly Love in the Spanish *Cancioneros*", in *The Literary Mind of Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1970), pp. 40-92.

[¿]Es un mentiroso hipócrita? [¿]o es un hombre muy humano y pecador, pero en el fondo sincero y recto? El procedimiento de oponer dos posibilidades sin presentar una resolución, tan ageno a nuestra idea de cómo debe organizarse una novela, es la raíz de muchas dificultades hermenéuticas que han hecho problemática la crítica del *Libro áureo*. Si se le enfoca como novela, o protonovela, es evidente que el autor no ha cumplido con una obligación primordial, la de proporcionar a su creación una unidad significativa, unidad en que basar el valor simbólico-referencial de la materia narrada. (p. 121)

Márquez Villanueva's argument that Marcus and Faustina are complex characters seems initially quite convincing. Yet a number of weaknesses in it lead to the conclusion that his interpretation of certain data as signs of tension in the marriage is invalid and that it is not Marcus and Faustina, but the relationship ingeniously traced through all the data collected by Márquez Villanueva which is complex. There could be many possible explanations why Elia is only mentioned once. That Marcus gave up writing letters once his muse Faustina had died must rank as one of the most fanciful. Marcus' second marriage (like Faustina's beauty) is stronger as a sign that the lust revealed in letters thirteen to eighteen was not diminished by age. A second weakness is the assumption that love is a motive equivalent to Faustina's beauty for remaining married. Love is not a motive for remaining married. Remaining married is a sign of love. The chief weakness, however, is that Márquez Villanueva equates the unexplained with complexity. These two ought to be opposites. Characters become complex as more and more is explained about them. Yet little or nothing is explained about why Marcus and Faustina remain married. Márquez Villanueva asserts at the beginning of the article that "es preciso olvidarse de los supuestos modelos clásicos y engolfarnos por las buenas en la vida del propio Marco Aurelio." He goes on:

El estudio a esta luz de la figura de Marco Aurelio constituiría una tarea dilatada, y por ello nos ceñimos aquí a poner de relieve un aspecto limitado, aunque fundamental, de dicho tratamiento: la compleja historia de su matrimonio con la emperatriz Faustina.

The data collected by Márquez Villanueva constitutes only a small fraction of the entire text. Aside from his relationships with women, Marcus seems very simple or 'flat', the author's mouthpiece for uncontroversial and hence, perhaps, impersonal admonitions and exhortations. Except for a reference to Marcus' "crónica flaqueza de bolsa" in "Guevara y Cide Hamete" (p. 266), Márquez

Villanueva has not collected any more evidence of the complexity of his character. Burrell collects a little data about Marcus' ill health (pp. 87-91). Yet all this does not amount to convincing evidence that Marcus is a complex or 'round' character.

"Marco y Faustina" marks, as I noted at the beginning of the Introduction, a reversal in the fortunes of Guevara's *oeuvre*. Indeed, to assert that the article, to some extent, effected that reversal would probably not be much of an exaggeration. It is cited with approval by many other critics, almost as if the last word on the question of character had been set down there. Yet Márquez Villanueva implies that he expects other narratives of Marcus' private life to be constructed. This has not happened. It is not merely that the argument is unconvincing, it is that the interpretative strategy adopted by Márquez Villanueva leads into a cul-de-sac. Burrell's section on the contrast between Marcus and Faustina is in many respects a resumé of "Marco y Faustina". And she seems to attempt to do the same in the next two sections, on the contrasts between Marcus and Panucius and Commodus. One of the reasons why interpretation of the *Libro áureo* has not progressed is precisely the influentiaity of "Marco y Faustina".

In the section "El nuevo sentido de la verosimilitud", in "Guevara y Cide Hamete", Márquez Villanueva takes issue with Rua's criticism that Guevara's works lack authority because "ninguna verdad pretende ni verisimilitud".⁷ He notes:

Guevara no nos parece hoy, en todo caso, sino mucho más verosímil que los demás autores de su época. No cabe duda que su peregrino Marco Aurelio resulta ser una entidad literaria mucho más jugosa y creíble que los personajes de palo usuales, no sólo en crónicas e historias, sino en el libro de caballerías o el poema épico de su tiempo. (p. 205)

He argues that such verisimilitude is achieved through prosopography and ethopoeia, in which "el detalle, y en especial el más inesperado, íntimo e incluso rafez, se usa ahora como el mejor medio de darnos la dimensión más concreta del personaje, de entregarlo, indefenso, en el plano de nuestra experiencia inmediata con resonancias humorísticas o picantes." He notes, too, "calculadas notas prosaicas" used to diminish extraordinary situations. Citing a passage from the

⁷Rua, *Cartas* p. 239.

Epístolas familiares, he argues that much the same is the case with geography and archeology: "el mundo entero se parece mucho a Castilla, y todo ha sido siempre más o menos igual que ahora." (p. 206) Citing another passage from the same work, he argues that description of interiors becomes verisimilar (p. 207). And he also notes that Guevara's works "rebotan de menciones de vestidos, comidas, armas, juegos, muebles, herramientos", citing a passage from the *Menosprecio de corte* (pp. 207-8). He concludes that Rua's criticism marks a rupture between two notions of verisimilitude, that Guevara's was "de orden moderno, tendente al realismo, y orientada en un claro sentido novelístico, precursor en más de un aspecto del arte cervantino." And he goes on to argue, in the next section of the essay, that Lope's criticism of Cervantes was much the same as Rua's of Guevara.

The second of Burrell's "técnicas de la novela no idealista" is the focus on the real, quotidian world. Citing Marcus' gout, sciatica, fever and fatigue she concludes:

Mediante este amontamiento de detalles concretos sobre la salud y desfallecimiento de Marco Aurelio, Guevara hace hincapié en la realidad extratextual de donde proviene la voz del emperador, el contexto de experiencia vivida que fundamenta su existencia literaria como sujeto y emisor parcial del texto. (p. 90)

A similar strategy is

el énfasis marcado que se da a los aspectos más prosaicos de las relaciones de amistad que el emperador mantiene. Guevara aprovecha la informalidad del género epistolar para postular, a través de unas bien calculadas clausuras, todo un trasfondo de vida cotidiana entre él, su familia, y sus destinatarios. (p. 91)

And she goes on to cite the closing passages of eight of the letters in Book Two.

Rallo Gruss does not argue that verisimilitude is one of the "rasgos novelísticos" of the "vidas guevarianas".⁸ She argues almost the opposite: "el motivo que más ha hecho acercar estas biografías a la novela ha sido la participación de la fantasía en el mismo cañamazo compositivo" (p. 286). Citing as instances events in *Una década de césares* such as eating a Phoenix, the

⁸She does argue, however, that the chief "proyección novelística" of Guevara's entire oeuvre is the "psicologismo" (pp. 239-40) and the "visión de la realidad" (pp. 240-1) and in a section headed "Implicaciones cervantinas" (pp. 241-3) resumes the arguments advanced by Márquez Villanueva in "Guevara y Cide Hamete".

preservation of Severo's ashes in caskets made from unicorn horn and numerous oracles, auguries and prodigies, she deduces that

la ficción tiñe el modo de la narración. Es decir, la postura del narrador que escribe creyendo en su escritura aunque el autor no pueda estar de acuerdo, de manera que se produce cierto despegue del texto respecto al autor, y una total identificación respecto al narrador. Todo ello explicita una creación que más allá incluso de la pseudo-historia pretende una complejidad narrativa, funcionando en varios planos: el personaje no actúa sobre un monocolor telón de fondo, sino en una aura que envuelve sus actos alejándolos del mundo absolutamente cotidiano, pero que a la vez los proyecta sobre la imaginación del lector, que es el que forja ese espacio. Planos, aun inconexos en una nivelación totalizadora, proporcionan ya los diferentes elementos para su constitución en novela: interrelación y dependencia protagonista-motivaciones reveladas sobre el eje protagonista-ambiente. (pp. 286-7)

I would agree with Márquez Villanueva that verisimilitude is achieved through prosopography and ethopoeia, at least in the *Libro áureo*. But he seems to confuse telling the truth with verisimilitude. Other letters and, probably, other moral treatises like the *Menosprecio de corte* include descriptions of interiors and everyday objects. Such descriptions are not verisimilar. The letter-writer is describing what he has seen, not making it up. Moreover everyday objects in the *Libro áureo*, like details about Marcus' health are not altogether helpful contributions to verisimilitude, as Rallo Gruss suggests by referring to this as "fantasía". They tend to undermine verisimilitude, suggesting that the story is not true.

The first of Burrell's three "técnicas de la novela no idealista" is unity of events (p. 119). She claims to have discovered this in the *Libro áureo* in Chapter Two, in a section titled "la organización del texto" (pp. 69-86). At the beginning of that section, however, she suggests that the work is not well unified:

Guevara no se aferra muy estrictamente al patrón de la vida del emperador y es evidente que ese recurso formal sirve como pretexto que le permite dar rienda suelta a su imaginación, relacionando todas sus ocurrencias e historias amenas a algún aspecto de la vida de Marco Aurelio. Esta vinculación puede ser en extremo tenue y circunstancial: le basta al narrador que haya en sus divagaciones algún elemento compartido con la biografía de Marco Aurelio, o que se sugieran estas historietas y *excursus* metónicamente. (pp. 69-70)

She discovers three kinds of relationship between passages: "la vinculación por metonimia"; "ecos y recuerdos intratextuales"; and "la autoinscripción del texto". The first is the chronological relationship between events and the speeches which they occasion. The second are flashbacks and flashes forwards, what Gérard Genette terms in his "Discours du récit: Essai de méthode", anachronies.⁹ And the third is the similarity of Ptolomy Arsacid's triptych and of Marcus' *Consolación de tristes* to the *Libro áureo* itself.

Márquez Villanueva does not mention the unity of the *Libro áureo* (or the lack of it). Instead he argues that the narrative techniques used by Guevara are the same as those of the novel:

El nuevo sentido de la narración empieza a perfilarse con claridad y el afán de ligar obra, autor y lector en inédita comandita artística y sicológica cuaja ya en fórmulas selladas por una difícil y calculada ambigüedad. [... la] naturaleza profunda del personaje va siendo mostrada mediante una técnica esencialmente problemática: revelaciones parciales de caracterización, implicaciones unas veces obvias y otras recónditas, notas ambientales de sutil y malicioso alcance. Marco Aurelio no se nos entrega en una sola pieza, sino como dispersas teselas de un mosaico que el lector recompone en activa colaboración con Guevara. (p.201)

La narración, sobre todo, deja de ser concebida como simple relato de una serie de hechos en desarrollo lineal. El arte de narrar abraza ahora cualquier recurso que contribuye a iluminar interiormente el proceso de la ficción. Comienzan así, en forma inevitable, los más diversos experimentos de orden técnico. (p. 202)

And he cites passages in the *Epístolas familiares* in which the same event is narrated from different points of view.

The first of Rallo Gruss's three "rasgos novelísticos" is narrative coherence, but not that of the biography itself:

⁹Gérard Genette, "Discours du récit: Essai de méthode", in *Figures III* (Paris: Seuil, 1972), pp. 178-88.

La estructura de las vidas es paradigmática en cuanto que se constituyen como suma de datos y anécdotas. Sin embargo, y al margen muchas veces del personaje central, aparecen pequeñas historias de privados o episodios, que con unidad en sí mismos soportan el desgajarse del contexto quedando como relatos cortos. (p. 284)

And she proceeds to note the narrative coherence of these stories, the autonomy of their central characters and the use of dialogue in them.

Burrell discovers very little unity in the work. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that Márquez Villanueva concentrates² on narrative technique, although it does not obviously resemble that of any other primitive novels, and that Rallo Gruss concentrates on the resemblance of narratives inserted in the biographies to primitive novels.

Even if all the criticisms levelled here were dismissed as uncharitably rigorous, neither case would seem convincing. For the critics suggest that *El libro áureo* is not like other novels of the moment when it was written, but like ones at hundreds of years' remove from then. The narrative of the marriage of Marcus and Faustina told by Márquez Villanueva resembles certain twentieth century love-stories. The drawing of contrasts between characters detected by Burrell resembles a technique of certain modernist novels. And the narrative structure which these two critics hint at might resemble that of certain avant-garde fictions. No wonder then that Jones suspects that there are "curious parallels" between Guevara's and the 'new' techniques of contemporary novelists. Yet, to the more suspicious, these parallels are a sign of how much the critics have to struggle to contrive arguments.

Yet this is not to deny that the *Libro áureo* is a primitive novel. The method adopted by Márquez Villanueva, Rallo Gruss and Burrell is flawed: the criteria are vague and biased.

Signs of the vagueness of the criteria are the difficulty which all three of the critics have in keeping the three criteria separate and the unjustified dissent of two of them from the other's award of the full status of the novel to the work. Complexity of character is realistic. And neither complexity of character nor realism can be achieved without the narrative structures of the novel. Yet, even if these three criteria could be kept separate, there are no units with which to measure complexity of character, realism and unity or 'novelisticity' of narrative

technique.

If the *Libro áureo* meets these criteria badly, then it could be argued, at the risk of uttering heresy, that most other primitive novels, even the most canonical ones, the *Celestina*, *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Don Quijote*, would not fare very much better. Complexity of character, verisimilitude and narrative coherence are the conventions of the nineteenth century realist novel, not the criteria of all novels.

The primitive novel has no conventions. The only conventions are those of what are now regarded as sub-genres of the primitive novel; sentimental romance, the celestinesque genre and the pastoral novel. Not yet a sub-genre, but not quite *sui generis* either are the two picaresque novels, *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache*, and the moorish novels, *El abencerraje*, the first part of the *Guerras civiles de Granada* and *Ozmín y Daraja*. *Sui generis* are the *Libro áureo*, the *Viaje de Turquía* and *Don Quijote* and also, until they were imitated, some of the novels which establish sub-genres. The *Celestina*, *Lazarillo de Tormes* and the *Diana* were generic mixtures which had never been made before. The convention shared by all the novels which are not imitators is their unconventionality or generic inventiveness.

A better method of confirming the *Libro áureo*'s status as a primitive novel, therefore, would be to identify the genres from which its principal structures are taken and to show that they are put together in a fashion equivalent to that of other primitive novels.

This method is not flawless either. The same criteria smuggle themselves back in since primitive novels have been awarded that status because they resemble nineteenth century realist novels. This is not to suggest that the novel is the crowning glory of the prose of the period or, the opposite, that novels are an arbitrarily selected area of the literary system. The system selects and promotes this area of itself. And to denounce the inconsistencies which exclude the *Libro áureo* from that area is to make the system slightly more consistent with itself. And also to admit the work to that area.

However, the *Libro áureo*'s generic affinities is a matter in even more doubt than its status as a novel.

The *Libro áureo* is variously classified as a treatise *de regimine principum*, a *semblanza*, panegyric, Renaissance biography, a parody of classical historiography, a romance of chivalry, an "pedagogicopolitical novel" like Xenophon's *Cyropedia* and Fénelon's *Telemaque*, and Menippean satire. Some critics call it two or three or even four or five of these, in different places, without troubling to show that it is any one of them, still less how the mixture of such disparate genres is achieved. Moreover, some of these classifications have been recited so often -and sometimes not cited at all, but slightly altered, offered as new ones- that they have become commonplaces of interpretation of the work, commonplaces whose genealogy can be traced back as far as Costes and Ménendez y Pelayo and, in one case, Feijoo, but commonplaces which deserve little or no credit because they are classifications which were not proved in the first place, which have not been since and which, considering the differences between them and some of the others, must be improbable. The work described by Ménendez y Pelayo or Lida seems quite different from the one described by Rallo Gruss or Burrell, much too different for this to be a case of interpretative pluralism. Classifications have proliferated not because of an excess of interpretation, but because of a shortage. Critics resume previous research and add their own. Presumably short of time and space, however, they do not scrutinize what they resume nor check its consistency with what they add. It is worthwhile, therefore, in order not only to justify the direction of my own research, but also to sort out that of others, examining the classifications of the work, repudiating some, noting the strengths and weaknesses of others.

Implicit in previous reseach and also, perhaps, in the very proliferation of classifications, although never noted, is the fact that the *Libro áureo* is a hybrid. No one has discovered a genre into which the work might comfortably fit. Critics tend to concentrate on classifying the biographical discourse, regarding the speeches and the letter collection as subsidiary.

Three critics, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, María Rosa Lida and J.R. Jones, classify the work as biography, briefly and aside from more extensive analysis of

the didactic functions.¹⁰ Only two, Grey and Rallo Gruss, concentrate on the biographical function.¹¹ Both trace the structure of classical biography in the *Libro áureo*. Grey claims that the form of the *Libro áureo* is mostly derived from the *Historia Augusta*, a collection of biographies of Roman emperors and certain heirs and claimants ostensibly written by six authors in the late third and early fourth centuries. Guevara almost certainly drew upon this collection for data, first, for the *Libro áureo* and the *Relox de príncipes* and, later, for *Una década de césares*.¹² But Grey affirms that the *Historia Augusta* also provided Guevara with the form, the "general framework" and many "characteristic features" of the *Libro áureo*. These features seem to be that:

Guevara proudly refers to his rhetorical devices as *alto estilo*; he cites anecdotes and statements from spurious sources; he bandies about names of nonexistent [sic] persons; he points out the difficulties endured in the preparation of his work; he fills his book with anecdotes and moral teachings instead of historical facts. (p. 6)

Grey's argument is unconvincing. On the previous page he notes that the *scriptores* declare (truthfully) that their biographies are not written in *estilo maiore*.¹³ Pointing out difficulties endured, as Guevara does towards the end of the prologue, is different from description of the historian's task, which is what Grey notes in a passage in the *Aurelianus*. There is also a considerable difference between the "moral teachings" in the *Libro áureo* and the *scriptores* stressing the "high ethical purpose" of their work. Finally, it is highly improbable that citing

¹⁰Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, pp. 109-27. Lida, "Guevara: Edad Media," pp. 346-88. Jones, *Antonio de Guevara*, p. 60.

¹¹Grey, *A Forgotten Author*, pp. 1-8. Rallo Gruss, *Guevara en su contexto*, pp. 269-83.

¹²Costes was the first to note a debt to the *Historia Augusta* in his *Guevara: son oeuvre*, p. 38. More recently, Augustin Redondo has proposed that Guevara used the text edited -together with some other Latin biography and historiography- by Erasmus and published by Froben in 1518. See his *Guevara et l'Espagne*, p. 468.

¹³The authorship of the *Historia Augusta* is disputed. Most critics now believe that all the biographies are the work of a single hand. For convenience, however, I refer to Julius Capitolinus and the other *scriptores* as the authors of the biographies. For a succinct resumé of critical treatment of this and related matters, see Ronald Syme's article "Controversy Abating and Credulity Curbed," in his *Historia Augusta Papers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 209-23.

spurious sources, naming non-existent people and fabricating material, "anecdotes", instead of relating historical fact are features owed uniquely to the *Historia Augusta*. It remains to be proved that Guevara, unlike Erasmus and Casaubon, "sensed that these biographies were spurious and considered them excellent models for his novelistic *vita* of Marcus Aurelius." (p. 6)¹⁴

The proposition, scarcely confirmed by argument, that Guevara owed "the general framework" of the *Libro áureo* to the biography of Marcus Aurelius in the *Historia Augusta* is no less controvertible:

Guevara preserves the basic structure found in the *vita* written by Julius Capitolinus: the antecedents of Marcus Aurelius; his youth and education; his marriage and elevation to the seat of power; his achievements and laws; his victories over his enemies; and finally his death and testament. (p. 9)

This is the basic structure of neither the *Libro áureo* nor the biography of Marcus Aurelius in the *Historia Augusta*. In the Latin biography, between the accounts of Marcus' adoption by Hadrian and his marriage to Faustina and of his elevation to the seat of power there is a long section describing his consulship. Then follow sections on his administrative reforms, legislation, relations with the people while he was joint emperor (with his adoptive brother, Verus) and an account of the Marcomannic war, culminating in the death of the other emperor. This is succeeded by a note of his kindness to Verus' family after his death and an account of the war in Pannonia. Julius Capitolinus then inserts a description of the reaction of the people when Marcus himself died and records some rumours about Commodus' paternity. Then there is a description of Verus' funeral, an account of the conscription of armies to fight the Marcomanni and a list of administrative reforms enacted and legislation passed by Marcus as sole emperor. An account of the rebellion of Avidius Cassius precedes a description of Marcus' death on campaign. The biography closes with a short section registering a variety

¹⁴The biographies seem to be of more value to historians than Grey allows. Anthony Birley, in the introduction to his translation of the *Historia Augusta*, comments that, "the major biographies in the first half, those of the emperors themselves of the second and early third centuries [...] are in the main sound and contain a great deal of authentic information." The life of Marcus Aurelius is one of these. *Lives of the Later Caesars*, trans. Anthony Birley (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), p. 13.

of the emperor's good and bad deeds. There is no mention of a will.

Guevara does not preserve the basic structure of Julius Capitolinus' biography. There are no accounts of wars or rebellions, no descriptions of funerals and no lists of administrative reforms and legislation in the *Libro áureo*. Conversely, there is little or nothing about the education and marriage of Marcus' children, about disagreements between him and his wife, or about the advice he gave to Commodus and his councillors and tutors in Julius Capitolinus' biography. There is a similarity between description of Marcus' ethos and the section at the close of the Latin biography. It is a formal rather than factual relationship. Moreover, the form, a collection of instances of behaviour, is better represented elsewhere in the *Historia Augusta*, and better still, outside, in other works. The formal relationship between the *Libro áureo* and the *Historia Augusta* seems, therefore, tenuous.

Asunción Rallo Gruss avers that the *Libro áureo* and the "vidas" which make up *Una década de césares* are homogenous, and that their form, the "biografía guevariana", is modelled on those composed by Plutarch and by Suetonius.¹⁵ Although neither proposition commands immediate and unqualified assent, no evidence is adduced to support them.

There are similarities between Plutarch's biographies and the *Libro áureo* which deserve inspection, but the two forms are mostly quite different. Plutarch's biographies are chronological narratives. The subject's actions determine and are determined by history, and his ethos is demonstrated through this dialectic. The narrative is retarded by the introduction of (approximately) four kinds of data. Sometimes a few instances of behaviour which are insignificant in isolation (action or speech on occasions of little importance, habits and sayings), are collected to show both that the subject's action at a moment of some consequence is characteristic and also what his ethos is. Sometimes brief description of political or military situations is introduced. Sometimes brief description of Greek or

¹⁵Rallo Gruss refutes the notion that Guevara's biographies are the same as the *semblanzas* of the previous century: "Guevara, aunque de modo libre y excediendo el texto, ha bebido de fuentes latinas, y reelaborado el material para la creación de un módulo biográfico que le permite, sin alcanzar la novela, apreciaciones y acercamientos propios a este género. De ahí su lejanía de los modelos de Pérez de Guzmán o de Pulgar." (p. 279)

Roman customs or laws is introduced to explain matters which the implied reader, a Greek living, in some cases, six hundred years after the subject, might otherwise have difficulty understanding. The fourth kind of data introduced is description of a general ethos, *sententiae*, generalisations drawn from an action in the narrative, which is not necessarily the subject's. The function of all these kinds of data is to supplement the narrative. No single narrative can be traced through *El libro áureo*. There is no description of military or political situations in it either. Introduction of the first, third and fourth kinds of data, however, is equivalent to the three sorts of description of ethos in the *Libro áureo*. A difference in relevance should not be overlooked. The third kind of data is explanation directly related to the subject's life (eg, explanation of the *agnomen* is necessary to understand all that Coriolanus won at Corioli). Description of the Roman ethos in the *Libro áureo* is often not directly related to Marcus. The fourth kind of data seems to be introduced to make actions seem more likely. This is verisimilitude. Description of people's behaviour in the *Libro áureo* is usually a digression from whatever slight narrative there may be. It seems to exhibit an ethical didactic function. But the greatest difference between introduction of these four kinds of data in Plutarch's biographies and description of ethos in Guevara's work is in frequency. The data introduced in the former is marginal to the narrative. Description of ethos is central to the structure of the latter.

One other similarity between some *Parallel Lives* and the *Libro áureo* deserves inspection. Commenting on the beginning of the biography of Aemilius Paullus, Alan Wardman, in his study *Plutarch's 'Lives'*, deduces that "biography of the kind devised by Plutarch is an aid to the good life or the attainment of virtue (*arete*)."¹⁶ The reader is to assimilate the virtuous ethos, to make the principle of behaviour demonstrated by the subject one of her or his own. This is similar to what Guevara requests of Carlos in the prologue. In the Greek biographies a virtuous ethos is simple. A single virtue determines all the subject's actions (eg, Fabius Maximus is from beginning to end, persistent, resolute, dogged etc). Marcus' ethos, in contrast, is complex. He is learned. But his learning does

¹⁶ Alan Wardman, *Plutarch's 'Lives'*, (London: Elek Books, 1974), p. 19.

not determine his behaviour in the uncomplicated fashion that persistence does Fabius Maximus'. The ethical didactic structure of the *Libro áureo* is quite different, therefore, from that of some of the *Parallel Lives*.

Similarities between the Spanish work and the Greek biographies are neither so exact nor so extensive as to confirm the proposition that the former is modelled on the latter.

Two critics, Menéndez y Pelayo and Redondo, classify the *Libro áureo* as panegyric, a genre combining biographical and ethical didactic functions.

Menéndez y Pelayo tries to describe a similarity between Guevara's work and the *Cyropaedia*, a very special kind of panegyric, a similarity first noted, he suggests, by Feijoo in his *Reflexiones sobre la historia*.¹⁷

Predomina en este famoso libro la intención didáctica, y la forma no es narrativa, sino completamente oratoria, tanto en los razonamientos como en las cartas. En ser un doctrinal de príncipes con estilo retórico y ameno se parece a la *Cyropedia* de Xenofonte, que seguramente había leído Guevara en la traducción de Francisco Philelpho, impresa ya en 1474. (p. 109)

A few pages further on he describes this likeness or kinship in a little more detail:

¹⁷In fact, Feijoo seems merely to be noting the mixture of fact and fiction in the two works:

Esta licencia [de exornar con algo de propria invencion la historia] se ha notado mucho en nuestro docto y elocuente español el ilustrísimo Guevara, no sólo por los autores extranjeros, mas tambien por los de nuestra nacion, en tanto grado, que Nicolas Antonio dice, que se tomó libertad de adscribir á los autores antiguos sus proprias ficciones, y jugó de toda la historia como pudiera de las *Fábulas de Esopo* ú de las *Ficciones de Luciano*. Su *Vida de Marco Aurelio* no tiene, por lo que mira á la verdad, mejor opinion entre los críticos que el *Ciro* de Jenofonte. Ciertamente no puede negarse que escrupulizó poco en introducir de fantasia en sus escritos algunas circunstancias, que le pareció podian servir ventajosamente á la diversion de los lectores.

And he cites as evidence a passage where Guevara cites Dion Cassius as attributing Nero's cruelty to having suckled the breasts of a murderess who had bathed them in the blood of her victim. Benito Jerónimo Feijoo y Montenegro, "Reflexiones sobre la historia," in the *Teatro crítico*, vol. IV, ss 13. In *Obras escogidas*, BAE vol.56 (Madrid: Atlas, 1952), pp. 166-7.

El parentesco del *Marco Aurelio* con la *Cyropedia* está en la concepción general más que en los pormenores. No se percibe imitación directa fuera de los capítulos L a LVII del libro III, donde se contienen las pláticas que Marco Aurelio poco antes de morir hizo a su secretario Panucio y a su hijo Commodo, y los consejos que dio a este último para la gobernación de su reino. La obra de Guevara como la de Xenofonte, vale principalmente de episodios. (pp. 109-20)

J.R. Jones disputes this:

the king of Persia's joyous leave-taking bears only the remotest similarity to the gloomy monologue found in the final chapters of part I of the *Golden Book*. Possible points of contact are Cyrus's observations on immortality [...], on his desire to be buried directly in earth, [...], and the cares of kingship [...] Yet Guevara surely needed no model to suggest to him such topics for a dying ruler's speech. (pp. 35-6)

Nonetheless, he accepts that there may be a generic relationship. He classifies the *Libro áureo* as a "pedagogicopolitical novel", a genre whose earliest example he takes to be the *Cyropedia*.

The first part of Jones's argument seems correct. There is almost no similarity between Cyrus' and Marcus' speeches. It is not obvious what other works belong to this critic's barbarously named genre. The similarity between the two works may be nothing more than the combination of biographical and didactic functions. María Rosa Lida would diminish it still further. She affirms in her article that Feijoo likened the two works, "para sugerir su carácter de novela con personajes históricos (todo paralelo más detallado entre obras tan diversas peca de absoluta impertinencia)" (p. 387)

Redondo's classification is supported by more exact analysis. A summary of his argument is helpful. His thesis is that Book One is composed following the precepts of epideictic rhetoric. The orator was to begin by recalling the subject's native land, ancestors and parents, to show their favourable influence. After dwelling on the subject's education, his or her virtue was to be demonstrated by reference to speech and deeds selected from all periods of her or his life. Redondo cites parts of the headings of the first three chapters as evidence that the beginning of Book One conforms to these rules:

- chap. I: «De la naturaleza y linage de Marco Aurelio ...»;
- chap. II: «De los maestros que tuvo Marco Emperador ...»;
- chap. III: «De las muchas sciencias que aprendio Marco Emperador ...»; (p. 477)

He goes on:

Dans les chapitres suivants, fray Antonio évoque progressivement les diverses qualités de l'empereur. En particulier, il met en relief sa grandeur d'âme, son sens de justice et de la clémence, son souci constant du bien de l'Etat qui lui faisait accomplir avec conscience son travail de souverain, son goût pour les «nobles exercices» au premier rang desquels se trouve l'étude, etc... (*ibid*).

Redondo again cites the headings of chapters fifteen, sixteen, eighteen and (in part) fourteen as evidence. He suggests how the speeches conform to the rules:

De même, comme il fallait montrer non seulement les actes mais encore les propos dignes d'éloge de celui dont on faisait le panégyrique -en d'autres termes, souligner ses «faits et dits mémorables»- Guevara, rompu à la pratique de l'*allocutio*, rédigeant une oeuvre présentée comme historique, insère dans son livre de nombreux discours (*razonamientos*) fictifs de Marc Aurèle, riches en réflexions morales et en sentences. (p. 476)

Fictional letters are equivalent to the speeches, intercalated in historical narratives in the same fashion, and a counterpart to the speeches in Book One (p. 481). Guevara frequently affirms the ethical didactic function of the work: "La structure même de l'ouvrage, comme nous croyons l'avoir montré, va dans ce sens." (p. 485) However, "derrière le monarque exemplaire, l'homme Marc Aurèle apparaît":

A partir de quelques données fournies par l'*Historia Augusta* au sujet de l'amour de Marc Aurèle pour Faustine et des infidélités attribuées à cette dernière, fray Antonio, sans abandonner le propos moral [...] a été conduit à imaginer la vie affective et familiale de l'empereur. (p. 485)

Redondo describes Marcus the man, referring to passages throughout the work. This description does not detract from or subvert that of the exemplary monarch. On the contrary, "en tant qu'homme aussi Marc Aurèle est un vivant *exemplum*" (p. 490).

Book One is not so similar to panegyric as Redondo claims. The differentiation between the emperor and the man is a sign of this. Although Guevara may not have abandoned the ethical didactic function in fabricating an

emotional and domestic life for the emperor, the critic seems to have discarded the proposition that Book One is composed following the precepts of epideictic rhetoric. He asserts that Marcus is exemplary "en tant qu'homme *aussi* ", not that Guevara "évoque progressivement les diverses qualités" of the man as he does those of the emperor. It is understandable. None of the matters which constitute, for Redondo, emotional and domestic life is of the sort to be found in panegyric. The epideictic *topoi* would not include them. For, even if not disgraceful, they would not prove the subject's nobility or virtue. There are other matters in Book One which these *topoi* would exclude as irrelevant -such as the Sicilian monster and Antigonus' story (XXVI and XXVII)- or disgraceful -such as falling from his horse in collision with a buffoon riding a hartebeest (XI). Matters which the *topoi* would have retrieved are not included such as his handsome appearance, brave deeds as a young man, battles and wars won as a general, public works commissioned and completed, administrative reforms carried into effect, the magnificence of public entertainments and largesse in defraying the cost, in sum, most of the matters included in Julius Capitolinus' biography. To object that Guevara excludes what is no longer significant or not significant of (Christian) virtue in the sixteenth-century is exact. But it is more pertinent to enquire whether, in that case, the *Libro áureo* exhibits the same function as panegyric.

Nevertheless, parts of approximately the first half of Book One appear to be composed following the precepts of epideictic rhetoric. The value of the first three chapters as panegyric is negligible. Marcus' birthplace is, indeed, named, the favourable influence of his ancestors and father is suggested, and his education is described at some length. But many biographical forms begin in this fashion. Moreover, other structures, indicated by the complete chapter headings, interfere. (Most damaging to Redondo's thesis is the passage "delos leyes que tenian los Romanos en criar los moços" in Chapter Two). Much more convincing evidence that passages in Book One conform to the rules of epideictic rhetoric is the progressive evocation of the emperor's qualities. In the treatise *De partitione oratoria* Cicero states that there are three methods of ordering or -to use the proper term- collocating the subject's achievements: "either one must keep their chronological order, or speak of the most recent first, or classify a number of

different actions under the virtues to which they belong."¹⁸ Guevara, Redondo suggests, uses the third of these. Not many passages, however, seem to be structured in this fashion. Citing chapter headings as evidence, moreover, is misleading, since many of the chapters also include quite different matter. Furthermore, the pattern is often spoiled. If Book One was once structured by the precepts of epideictic rhetoric, other forms have since interfered and overpowered them. Finally, since this structure is description of Marcus' ethos, it would be necessary to show that the paradigm is in epideictic rhetoric rather than elsewhere, in the *Parallel Lives* or the *Historia Augusta*.

María Rosa Lida seems to confuse the biographical and ethical didactic structures in the work. She classifies it as a medieval treatise *de regimine principum*:

Versa sobre la formación de un monarca ideal, género medieval que entre sus muchos cultores cuenta en latín a Santo Tomás de Aquino, a su discípulo fray Egidio Colonna, a Dante, y en romance castellano al autor de los *Castigos y documentos*, al infante Juan Manuel con su *Libro de los estados* y a mosén Diego de Valera con su *Doctrinal de príncipes*. El género traspasa la Edad Media con la *Utopía* de Tomás Moro y la *Institutio principis christiani* de Erasmo. (p. 357)

Her classification has been influential, accepted almost without question by José Antonio Maravall in *Carlos V y el pensamiento del Renacimiento*,¹⁹ Grey,²⁰ Márquez Villanueva²¹ and Burrell.²² Yet there are three inaccuracies which

¹⁸In 'De oratore' Book III together with 'De fato', 'Paradoxa stoicorum', 'De partitione oratoria', trans. H. Rackham, (London: Heinemann, 1948), p. 367.

¹⁹See José Antonio Maravall, *Carlos V y el pensamiento del Renacimiento* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1960), pp. 183-231.

²⁰Although it is far from obvious how the tradition relates to his analysis of the work, Grey writes that "our author continues a long medieval tradition, the literary genre of advice to princes, many examples of which are listed by María Rosa Lida de Malkiel." (p. 1)

²¹In "Guevara y Cide Hamete", Márquez Villanueva criticises Lida for failing to appreciate the artistic value of the work: "Aunque el análisis de aspectos externos de la obra guevariana casi pueda calificarse allí de perfecto, su interpretación de conjunto queda desvirtuada por el fracaso en apreciarla como fenómeno artístico." (p. 193)

²²Burrell asserts that the work resembles a medieval *speculum principum*, but -like Lida- lists works in a great variety of genres under this heading. See pp. 42-8.

render her classification most doubtful.

First, there are considerable differences between the works which she includes in the genre. Those of Aquinas, di Colonna, de Valera and Erasmus are treatises *de regimine principum*, that is, about ruling. The other three are not. However general its three propositions -that the Holy Roman Empire is necessary, that the emperor is the rightful sovereign and that his authority proceeds direct from God-may seem, the *De monarchia* is a partisan pamphlet not a theoretical *tractatus*, of ephemeral not enduring value, interesting to the Bianchi and the Neri (rival Guelph factions) in the early fourteenth century, not to most rulers. The *Castigos y documentos* are moral precepts supported by authorities and *exempla* purportedly composed by a father for his son, interesting, therefore, to all men, not only rulers. The *Libro de los estados* is a version of Barlaam and Josaphat combined with a description of the duties of people of each class, interesting, likewise, to all men, not only rulers. And *Utopia* is a description of a state, dedicated to Pieter Gillis and almost certainly written for the press and of interest to all well-educated Europeans, not only rulers. Any of these might be more or less useful advice, but only the first four are about ruling.

Second, none of these works is about the education of an ideal monarch. Any of them might be used to instruct a ruler, but that is different.

Third, nor is the *Libro áureo* about the education of an ideal monarch. Lida exaggerates the amount of material on education in the work:

Guevara trata -ien tantas páginas!- del tema de la educación: «De los maestros que tuvo Marco Emperador, y de las leyes que tenían los romanos en criar los mozos.» «De los ayos que tomaba Marco Emperador para criar sus hijos». «De un razonamiento que hizo Marco Emperador a los ayos que habían de criar al príncipe su hijo, en el cual pone muy buenas doctrinas para los mozos.» «De los vicios que han de apartar los ayos a los príncipes y los buenos padres a sus hijos cuando los crían.» (p. 358)

And she diminishes the amount of matter not about education, virtually dismissing it as digressions; "infinitas digresiones, nada espontáneas mantienen la amenidad del libro" (p. 360). The chapter-headings which she cites suggest what is, indeed, the case, that the education of the ideal monarch's children -including the heir, who proved to be anything but ideal- is treated at greater length than his own. The biographical and ethical didactic structures are not simply connected as the narrative of an education.

The *Libro áureo* exhibits a structure quite different from that of a treatise *de regimine principum*. But its status within the whole range of discursive practices, as a deontology for the sovereign, may be similar. Redondo speculates that Guevara was inspired in part by the tradition of composing such treatises at the beginning of reigns.²³

None of these five critics has discovered a paradigm for the *Libro áureo* in which the same biographical and ethical didactic structures are already combined. The *Cyropaedia* is the only work exhibiting a similar combination. But its structure is quite different. It seems likely, therefore, that the two structures are combined for the first time in the *Libro áureo*. The ethical didactic function remains almost unidentified. Part of the biographical structure, identified in passages describing Marcus' ethos, has been traced through two kinds of discourse, classical biography (in the *Historia Augusta* and the *Parallel Lives*) and panegyric (in the rules of epideictic rhetoric). Two obvious structures which are used in the work remain to be considered; the speech and the letter.

The speeches have scarcely received any analysis. Grey proposes that they are one of the products of the technique of "amplification of biographical material" which Guevara learned from the *Historia Augusta*:

Livy included in his history long harangues which his heroes may or may not have delivered. This was an accepted convention, and the speeches were not usually out of character with the person who delivered them. Suetonius went one step further and amplified his *De XII Caesaribus* with anecdotes, documents and gossip. (p. 3)

Gray ignores the difference in length, in kind and in function between speeches in Latin historiography and biography. It might be true that Guevara surmised that the *scriptores* fabricated material and decided to do the same on a rather more magnificent scale. But the speeches in the *Libro áureo* have a structure which is not exhibited by those in Latin historiography or biography.

Redondo and Costes both propose that the speeches are the same as those in classical and Renaissance historiography. The former is more precise, claiming

²³Redondo notes: "Il existait d'ailleurs une tradition des *Miroirs des Princes* écrits fréquemment au début des règnes. Et c'étaient surtout des hommes d'Église qui se préoccupaient de la formation du souverain et qui étaient les auteurs de ces traités. Telle dut être l'origine du *Livre doré de Marc Aurèle*" (p. 466)

that they are structured according to the rules of *allocutio*:

c'était un des *modi* de la *narratio verosimilis*, qui permettait de fonder du point de vue psychologique les événements historiques. On comprendra mieux ainsi le rôle important qu'a joué le discours chez les chroniqueurs et pourquoi Guevara l'a tellement employé dans son oeuvre historique ou pseudo-historique (*Marco Aurelio, Década de Césares*). (p. 478, footnote 71)

But the difference between the kind of speech used in historiography and composed according to the rules of *allocutio* and those in the *Libro áureo* is much greater than Redondo acknowledges. It is remarkable in this respect that he does not show that any of the speeches are composed following the rules of *allocutio*. The style and *ordo* of the speeches in the *Libro áureo* are quite different from those of the classical oration. Most long speeches in classical historiography are deliberative. They are delivered by someone whose past is known. The speaker argues his or her own cause. Hence the technique of *allocutio*: knowing the speaker's past, the historian can retrieve the arguments which she or he might have used and dress them up in an eloquence which seems proper. The speeches in the *Libro áureo* are not deliberative. Marcus urges listeners to behave in certain virtuous fashions in some of them. He does not ever require them to do something specific. The arguments which he uses are much the same as those used by Panucius in the only long speech delivered by someone other than the emperor.

The speeches in the *Libro áureo* are incorrectly identified as the same as those in either classical or Renaissance humanist historiography.

Redondo and Rallo Gruss define the form of the letters in Book Two as similar to that prescribed by the *dictatores*.²⁴

The French critic claims that the form is equivalent to that of school exercises in the *ars dictaminis*:

²⁴Both Redondo and Rallo Gruss impute to Lida a definition of the form of the letters in Book Two which the Argentine critic does not make plain. They infer that she considers the form of these letters to be the same as that of the *Epístolas familiares*. Redondo acknowledges that he derives his definition of the form of the letters in Book Two in part from Lida. Rallo Gruss rejects Lida's definition of the form for reasons different from those for which I reject Redondo's. See *Guevara en su contexto*, pp. 258-9, footnote 20.

Au XII^e et XIII^e siècles, cet art épistolaire acquit une grande importance en Europe et donna lieu à des exercices scolaires (dont le tradition parvient jusqu'à Guevara), à partir de thèmes variés: on inventait par exemple des lettres entre Pyrame et Thisbé, l'âme et le corps, l'Univers et Dieu ... De même, on imaginait que Rome écrivait à sa fille Florence ou que les courtisanes de Naples se plaignaient aux professeurs de l'Université d'être négligées par les étudiants, ce que fait penser, quoique le sujet soit différent, à la missive adressée par Marc Aurèle aux courtisanes romaines. D'autres encore sont les lettres de consolation ou de condoléance et le *Libro áureo* en renfermera également. Mais, quel qu'en soit le thème, toutes ces épîtres se caractérisent par une recherche de l'ornement, de l'emphase, en un mot des couleurs rhétoriques. (p. 482)

As examples of fictional letters of consolation he cites two found at the end of some manuscripts of the *Libro de Alexandre* which purport to have been sent by the moribund hero to his mother, probably composed around the middle of the thirteenth century by Juan Lorenzo de Astorga.

This definition is unsatisfactory. What proof is adduced to support it is slight and unconvincing. Redondo refers to an article by Charles H. Haskins in his *Studies in Mediaeval Culture* in which the exercises are described.²⁵ The deployment of recherché tropes and figures is not shown to be similar in the Latin exercises and in the letters. Redondo argues elsewhere (pp. 183-215) that the style of Guevara's prose derives from the eloquence of his sermons. Above all, the difference between the allegorical fiction of the school exercises and the verisimilitude of the letters in the *Libro áureo* suggests that the relationship claimed by Redondo is slight. Citing two letters composed nearly three centuries before as examples of letters of consolation similar to those in the *Libro áureo* tends to indicate a shortage of material. There are similarities between the consolatory letters in Book Two and Astorga's.²⁶ But these seem topical, not, as Redondo claims, stylistic. And material is retrieved from the same *topoi* in other consolatory letters composed in the fifteenth century. Furthermore, Astorga's letters do not, in my opinion, take the form prescribed by the *dictatores*.

Giles Constable, in his monograph *Letters and Letter-Collections*, notes that

²⁵Charles H. Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), pp. 137-8 and 187.

²⁶The two letters are included in the *Epistolario español*, vol.II, pp. 1-2.

the letter in the mediaeval period is difficult to define because almost any material could be recast in the form, which would, nonetheless, be regarded as genuine.²⁷ To term some letters quasi- or pseudo-epistolary is to judge by anachronistic criteria. This leads to a very specific definition of the fictional letter:

In terms of epistolary situation, real letters bridged the gap principally of space, and fictional letters bridged the gap principally of time. (p. 14)

By this definition neither the school exercises nor Astorga's letters nor those in Book Two of the *Libro áureo* are fictional. It seems, therefore, that the premiss upon which Redondo's classification is grounded, that a notion of difference regulated production, conservation and reception of real and fictional letters is false. The letters in Book Two are fictional, of course, but the fictional structure is separate from that of the letter. It is, therefore, unnecessary to search for fictional letters in order to define those in Book Two.

Rallo Gruss differentiates between the *Epístolas familiares* and all the other letters composed by Guevara for publication (that is, in the *Libro áureo*, in the *Relox de príncipes* and in *Una década de césares*). The *Epístolas familiares* take a form which she terms "la carta cortesana". The others are defined -none too exactly- as intermediary between the form prescribed by the *dictatores* and "la carta cortesana". They are "aprendizaje retórico" prior to composition of the *Epístolas familiares*:

La materialización de cartas de emperadores romanos, que debían atenerse a un esquema preestablecida si querían mantener la apariencia de antigüedad, sirvió, en su desarrollo, de primera práctica epistolar. Sujeto a un canon que le obligaba a determinada introducción, tono y despedida, cada epístola aborda un tema ya elaborado en las retóricas. (p. 258)

A footnote reveals that the "esquema preestablecida" is the five-part *ordo* required by the *ars dictaminis*, already traced by J.R. Jones in one of the letters in *Una década de césares*.²⁸ But these letters are quite different from mediaeval epistolography for, among other reasons, Guevara "ha seguido el ejemplo clásico

²⁷Giles Constable, *Letters and Letter-Collections*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, (fasc.17), (Turnhout: Éditions Brepols, 1976), p. 12.

²⁸See the introduction to his edition, pp. 28-9.

de Plutarcho o Macrobio" (p. 259).

It is probably incorrect and certainly misleading to describe composition of the letters in the *Libro áureo*, the *Relox de príncipes* and *Una década de césares* as "primera práctica epistolar". As Rallo Gruss herself asserts (p. 257) and as Redondo's biographical chapters tend to confirm, most of the *Epístolas familiares* are more or less polished versions of letters first composed during the 1520s, that is, during composition of the *Libro áureo* and the *Relox de príncipes* and before that of *Una década de césares*.²⁹ It would be surprising if readers of the period mistook the five-part *ordo* required by the *ars dictaminis* for the classical form. But this *ordo* is not traced in the letters in the *Libro áureo* or the *Relox de príncipes*. The allusion to the treatises in the *Moralia* suggests that the form of the letters in works treating Roman emperors, like that of the *Epístolas familiares*, is a predecessor of the essay. Rallo Gruss eventually concedes that the difference between the *Epístolas familiares* and the other letters composed by Guevara for publication is superficial:

bastaría librarles de sus toques de profanidad y de aparato serio, a nivel de emperador, para que se descubriera la auténtica creación renacentista a caballo entre la presunción personal y el ensayo. (p. 259)

It seems, therefore, that the form of the letters in the *Libro áureo* may be the same as that of the *Epístolas familiares*, the "carta cortesana". She cites Pulgar's *Letras* as another collection of the same kind. But the form to which she refers is not analysed with such care as to demonstrate any relationship between Guevara's and Pulgar's letters.

Rallo Gruss's definition of "la carta cortesana" is ambiguous. She describes Italian humanist epistolography, arguing that the letter was a preeminently Renaissance discursive practice and suggesting that Guevara participates in it in the composition of the *Epístolas familiares* (pp. 247-50). But Guevara's letters are different from those of the humanists. They were "auténticas pioneras" whose form was determined by socio-economic factors: more extensive use of the

²⁹See *Guevara et l'Espagne de son temps*, chaps. III, V, VI and VII *passim*. I am aware that the dates given for some of the letters in the *Epístolas familiares* are demonstrably false.



vernacular and cheaper printed texts (p. 252). Nonetheless she affirms that some classical letters were models (p. 258) and, following Costes, that Fernando del Pulgar's were influential (pp. 259-60).

The effects of the socio-economic factors can also be traced in the form of fifteenth-century Castilian letters. Moreover the classical letter is not shown to have been a model. If it was, it would be reasonable to suppose that the only major difference between Guevara's and Italian humanist letters would be in language.

The work of other critics on the *Epístolas familiares* does not provide much help in defining the form of the letters in Book Two. Competing theses proliferate. Costes argues that Guevara's predecessors were Diego de Valera, Gonzalo Ayora and, above all, Pulgar, whose *Letras* were "le premier écrit de ce genre où le ton familier s'unit à l'intention didactique" (p. 132). Lida deletes Ayora from Costes' list and adds Juan de Lucena, but asserts that Guevara's letters take the form prescribed by the *dictatores* (pp. 354-5). Gibbs (p. 188) and Jones (p. 113) both assert that Guevara's letters take the form of essays. According to Jones the essay was a classical form from which Guevara merely imitated. He also asserts that some classical letters were models and that Pulgar's were influential (pp. 126-7). Most recently Pilar Concejo argues that Guevara's letters are essays and asserts that the form has antecedents in some Italian humanist letters and in fifteenth century Castilian vernacular treatises and letters.³⁰

The form of the *Epístolas familiares* remains undefined. The conclusion which might be drawn from the work of these critics is that the letters maintain promiscuous relations with the forms of classical, humanist, fifteenth century Castilian vernacular and medieval *dictatores'* letters. The proliferation of competing theses can be attributed to some extent to the reluctance of the critics to define forms and then to provide evidence of these definitions. Only Costes produces evidence to confirm the influence of Pulgar's letters on Guevara's. The differences between the four forms are not as obvious as the critics pretend. Indeed, there are signs that some are themselves uncertain of these differences.

³⁰Concejo, *Un ensayista del Siglo XVI*, pp. 19-31.

Rallo Gruss asserts that the humanist letter takes a form equivalent to that prescribed by the *dictatores*, but revitalised by citation of classical authors (p. 248). Yet she also notes that the humanists took Cicero's letters as models for their own (p. 249).

Lida and Gibbs have suggested that the *Epistolario* was the precursor of the *Epístolas familiares*. But the differences between the two collections should be recognised. One of the most obvious is size. The first part of the *Epístolas familiares* consists of sixty-nine items, the second of forty-three. Another difference is in the kind of items included. Besides letters there are sermons and speeches in the *Epístolas familiares*. Another difference is that whereas all the items in the *Epístolas familiares* are composed by Guevara, one of the letters in the *Epistolario* is from one of Marcus' correspondents. Certain kinds of letter are not common to both collections. There are no love-letters in the *Epístolas familiares*. There are no commendatory letters in the *Epistolario*. The *Epístolas familiares* is a collection ordered by the principle of variety.

In the course of interpretation Redondo classifies the letters by kind to discover an order in the *Epistolario*. He considers that the first twelve letters are those to which Guevara refers in another transcribed in the *Epístolas familiares* as "morales y de buenas doctrinas". Five of these (III, V, VI, VIII and IX) are consolatory. Three others (I, VII and XI) are more difficult to classify:

une autre évoque l'état d'âme de l'empereur après la mort de son fils bienaimé, Vérisimus, et les réflexions que cette perte a suscitées en lui, une autre encore reproche à deux vieillards de vivre en jeunes gens au lieu de se préparer à la mort, une autre enfin s'en prend aux bouffons qui corrompent les mœurs et justifie leur expulsion de Rome. (p. 483)

Four other letters (II, IV, X and XII) are related to "des thèmes politiques". These twelve are followed by the letter to the Roman prostitutes and the correspondence with Bohemia:

Ces trois épîtres pourraient être qualifiées de «cartas de escarnio». Elles continuent en effet une veine satirique, anti-féministe dans les deux premières, qui apparaît aussi dans les *cancioneros* (et en particulier le *Cancionero general*) que dans les oeuvres comme le *Libro de buen amor* de l'archiprêtre de Hita, le *Corbacho* de l'archiprêtre de Talavera ou la *Repetición de amores* de Luis de Lucena. (p. 484)

These three are followed by the love-letters (XVI, XVII and XVIII). The last letter, to Piramon, "revient aux thèmes sérieux de douze premières" (p. 495).

This classification is, in fact, three. The first, differentiating the first twelve letters from the rest, is premised on a controvertible assumption. This is that Guevara in the letter to don Fadrique de Portugal, Archbishop of Zaragoza, in the *Epístolas familiares* refers to the first twelve -and also, presumably, the last- as "morales y de buenas doctrinas". The context suggests that Guevara is referring to all but the three love-letters:

a mí me quedaron pocas cartas de Marco Aurelio, digo de las que son morales y de buenas doctrinas; que de las otras que escribí, siendo mozo, a sus enamoradas, aún tengo razonable cantidad dellas, las cuales son más sabrosas para leer que no provechosas para imitar. Muchas veces he sido importunado, rogado, persuadido y aun sobornado, para que publicase estas cartas, y a ley de bueno te juro que no ha faltado caballero que me daba una muy generosa mula porque le diese una carta de alguna enamorada, diciendome que se la había pedido una dama y le iba la vida en complacerla. Mil veces me he arrepentido de haber romanzado aquellas cartas de amores, [...] Si por traducir yo aquellas cartas amatorias, y haber puesto en ellas razones tan vivas y requebradas, algún enamorado, o alguna enamorada, han pecado [...]³¹

The letter to the Roman prostitutes and the correspondence with Bohemia are also, therefore, "morales y de buenas doctrinas".

The letters related to "des thèmes politiques" and the "cartas de escarnio" are classified by the themes they exhibit in the context of, first, others in Book Two and, second, other literature of the period. Jones's classification is similar: there are six letters on relations between the sexes (XIII-XVIII); three on reverses of fortune (V, VI and XIX); two on death (I and VIII); two on avarice (II and III); and one each on war (IV); on foolishness in the aged (VII); and on public morals (XI) (p. 34).

Thematic classification fails because it differentiates not between the letters as integers but between the *topoi* used in the argument of each. Marcus resorts to the same *topoi* for quite different letters. The *topos* "scorn" is used not only in

³¹ Antonio de Guevara, *Libro primero de las Epístolas familiares*, ed. José María de Cossío, "Biblioteca selecta de Clásicos españoles", (Madrid: Aldus, 1950), vol. I, pp. 451-2. All citations are from this edition.

the "cartas de escarnio" but also in the eleventh in which Marcus derides buffoons.

The six consolatory and three love-letters are classified as integers. This classification ought, therefore, to be completed.

If the *Libro áureo* has not moved from the margins of the canon because the case for awarding it the status of a primitive novel is not convincing and if a convincing case could be made by comparing its construction to that of some other primitive novels, then the agenda for the rest of the dissertation has been set.

Chapter 2

Suetonian Biography

The structure of the Suetonian life was not only available to Guevara but even perhaps, with regard to subject matter and treatment, compelling. Critics who have examined his sources agree that the *De Vitae XII Caesarum* was one of them. He draws on it for *exempla* in several works. Indeed the first example of "vanidad" in the prologue to the *Libro áureo*, although somewhat freely translated, is correctly attributed to Suetonius. But Suetonius' lives were for the *Libro áureo* and *Una década de césares* not merely a mine of source material. Published ten years after the *Libro áureo*, *Una década de césares* was probably the next book written after the *Relox de príncipes*. In the prologue Guevara asserts:

a imitación de Plutarcho y de Suetonio Tranquilo he querido traducir, copilar y corregir las vidas de diez príncipes romanos.

It is a claim which J.R. Jones, in the introduction to his edition, finds largely justified. The "Argumento" closes with this declaration:

Deste libro y del de Marco Aurelio es el auctor uno, el estilo uno y el intento uno; porque el fin de nuestra pluma es persuadir y avisar a todos los mortales a que sepan y crean que no ay cosa en esta vida más cierta que ser todas las cosas inciertas.

One of the themes of the *Libro áureo* may be uncertainty, but the marginal annotation, "Quien copiló a Marco Aurelio copiló este libro", suggests that the statement may have been motivated as much by salesmanship as by aesthetic judgement. Guevara does not declare his models in the prefatory matter of the *Libro áureo* and the Suetonian life structure is largely disguised by long speeches and the letter-collection.

The Suetonian life was also the model for the *Historia Augusta* which Guevara probably read in a collection of Latin historiography and biography which included the model as well. But Julius Capitolinus' life of Marcus Aurelius is not the model for the *Libro áureo*. Were this the case one would expect to find striking correspondences between the two texts. Yet these can be restricted to the first four chapters which are themselves, at most, a very free version of the beginning of the Roman biography. But more important than this, Julius Capitolinus' life of Marcus Aurelius does not exhibit the structure of the

Suetonian life as well as does the *Libro áureo*. In the latter it is transparent, in the former it is disordered, vestigial.

According to Ruth Morse's article "Medieval Biography: History as a Branch of Fiction", the Suetonian life was the model favoured by biographers in the Middle Ages.¹ She observes that although no single scheme is applicable to all medieval biographies, a life is often divided into topics after the fashion of Suetonius. Such was the case with hagiography, a genre with which Guevara was no doubt familiar. Carlos Clavería in his article "Notas sobre la caracterización de la personalidad en las *Generaciones*", recognises the Suetonian life structure in Pérez de Guzmán's biographies.² This might suggest that the *Libro áureo* owes the Suetonian life structure to this writer or his successor, Fernando del Pulgar. This is María Rosa Lida's opinion (p. 354). But Asunción Rallo Gruss refutes her. She finds only two features shared by *Una década de césares* and the medieval biographies and not by the classical ones: "la proporción como característica física importante; y la necesidad de señalar el linaje" (p. 275). The first seems of negligible importance and is anyway irrelevant to the *Libro áureo*. The second is an error: all Suetonius' lives begin with a section devoted to the subject's ancestry.

There are, therefore, three places from which Guevara might have taken the structure of the Suetonian life: Suetonius' lives themselves, the *Historia Augusta*, and medieval hagiography.

The distinctive structure of the Suetonian life is a consequence of the rubric method: information about the subject is collected under a series of headings. Matter always covered by these headings is ordered in this sequence: ancestry; birth and early life; years before accession; public life; private life; death. Rubrication may be defined with much greater precision to reveal significant variation and omission, but with concomitant loss of pattern. Thus "public life" usually includes an assessment of the subject's performance in military, judicial, administrative, financial and religious affairs. Headings succeed in an almost chronological order. However, matter under the fifth may be taken from any

¹Ruth Morse, "Medieval Biography: History as a Branch of Fiction," *Modern Language Review* 80 (1985), pp. 257-68.

²C. Clavería, "Notas sobre la caracterización de la personalidad en las *Generaciones*", *Anales de la Universidad de Murcia* X (1951-2), pp. 481-526.

period of the subject's life. Moreover, information listed under a heading does not necessarily follow a chronological sequence and much of what the biographer regards as significant is undated and even undateable. Chronological development varies according to rubric; longer narratives tend to concentrate under the third and fourth headings, but only the account of the subject's death always constitutes a single narrative of consecutive events. Discrete units of information are collected for their exemplary value, not for their place in some concatenation of cause and effect. There is no hierarchy of *exempla* and they do not function as different parts of a voiced argument. Beneath a heading *exempla* can be rearranged in any order without any loss of coherency. Some rubrics might be altered in the same way. Collected *exempla* articulate an ethical judgement. Thus examples of the subject's performance in financial affairs show whether he was liberal, mean or extravagant. The ethical judgement is sometimes advanced as a premiss for which the succeeding *exempla* serve as proof. More often the reader, by dint of (rhetorical) induction, infers the judgement from the *exempla*. It is by comparing the ethical judgements passed on the twelve caesars that the rubrication may be established. The Suetonian life, therefore, is compiled rather than narrated or discussed.

Exempla are narrated. There seem to be four kinds: a narrative, extending for perhaps a dozen sentences, which sets forth the part played by the subject in a series of loosely related events over a period of anything from a week to several years; a much shorter narrative recounting a single deed or providing the context for something said or written; a report, often no longer than a single sentence, of some trait or habit; a quotation. In addition one should note two special kinds of information which are not exemplary; the description of the subject's appearance and the account of his ancestry. Narratives are summary rather than scenes. Shorter narratives are strictly governed by the economy of proof; only so many details as to make clear the ethical significance of the deed or words are included. One might question whether the longer narratives are, in fact, *exempla*. It is usually difficult to induce a single ethical judgement from them. But they might be understood as a series of *exempla* in a single narrative. They would be governed by the same economy as the shorter *exempla* if information of an ethically neutral value was not included to sustain the narrative. We might say that such narratives are ruled by an economy of biographical relevance rather

than of proof; events of great importance to the historian are passed over quickly to dwell on the nugatory incidental which signs the subject's personality. An ethical judgement is almost always inscribed in these narratives. Apart from the alleged didactic intention, Guevara's reading of Julius Caesar's early life seems to me to be correct:

cuenta largamente Suetonio Tranquillo las hazañas y acometimientos temerarios que Gaio Iulio hizo en su moçedad, por mostrar alos principes aduenideros como fue muy grande la ambicion que tuuo de alcançar la monarchia, y muy poco el seso y madurez para conseruarse en ella. (p. 33)

Only major events in the subject's life, not in the history of his time, are dated. The longer narratives are usually located in time, though often rather vaguely. The shorter narratives are mostly not fixed in time at all. The third kind of *exemplum* often refers to some action repeated over a determined period. When the period is unspecified we are invited to assume that it was a life-long habit. This and the second kind of *exemplum* are frequently mixed. Longer narratives tend to be collected and isolated from the other kinds of *exempla*. Thus a certain rhythm is established; long narratives are followed by discrete observations and anecdotes. Quotations tend to be short extracts; a verse or a couple of sentences. The longest is probably the first extract from Augustus' correspondence in the life of Claudius. But here as elsewhere the length of the extract is governed by the economy of proof.

The subject is focussed with the historian's omniscience. There is no access to the subject's mind. Words or phrases which might suggest this in another genre merely indicate that thoughts or feelings have been judged from the deed. Occasionally conjectures about motivation are advanced, which serves to show that the subject's psyche remains inviolable. Long speeches are not fabricated and put into the mouths of important figures after the fashion of some historians. Nothing is reported which would have been or might seem to be impossible to know. The rubric method holds the subject at a constant distance; a bald statement by the narrator and a reported saying are equivalent signs of personality. From time to time the narrator comments on the subject's personality if it seems contradictory or in some way confusing. But there is nothing which could be called analysis.

Omniscience ranges over a field limited by source material. But there are few signs that the reader and the subject are mediated not only by the narrator but also by other texts. Even the first two lives are not littered with references to these other texts. But the very size of the later lives indicates that sources were drying up. Different accounts of events are rarely compared. For the most part selection of the matter narrated preceded writing. Sometimes the trustworthiness of a source is remarked, usually negatively. The narrator is personal but anonymous. The conventional voice of the scholar is Suetonius' instrument. At the beginning of his edition of the lives J.C. Rolfe notes:

The style of Suetonius is rather that of the scholar and investigator than of the man of letters. It is plain and concise, with no attempt at fine writing or rhetorical embellishment, and has been well characterised as "businesslike."³

It is remarkable for the use of a foreign language -Greek- and for the verbatim citation of documents. It is a grapholect rather than transcribed speech.⁴ Although *exempla* seek to prove a premiss about the subject's personality, our decision is not, apparently, prejudiced by the narrator. He is self-effacing according to Andrew Wallace-Hadrill who, in his book *Suetonius. The Scholar and his Caesars*, writes:

He does not speak *in propria persona*, except to comment on truth or falsehood. He offers no epigrams or *sententiae*. He does not even use value-laden adjectives to guide his reader towards approval or disapproval. Value-judgements must often be implicit in the items he relates; yet he seeks to keep himself and his opinions in low profile.⁵

The narrator is laconic. He is reticent about everything except his subject. He does not refer to himself or to the reader. It should be noted that from time to time he notes that some section has concluded and that another is about to begin.

³ *Suetonius*, ed. & trans. J.C. Rolfe, (London: Heinemann, 1914), vol.I, p. xix. All citations are from this translation.

⁴ On the difference between grapholects and the style of oral discourse, see Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, New Accents, 1982), pp.106-8.

⁵ Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius. The Scholar and his Caesars* (London: Duckworth, 1983), p. 24.

Aside from this, however, there are no references to the compilation itself. Rubrication has, as it were, been erased. Lives do not begin or end with a summary or succinct recapitulation. Contact between the narrator and the reader is not deemed worthy of attention. It seems that we have merely to slip into the role of scholarly reader, drawing conclusions from instances of behaviour in much the same way as from instances of (word) usage. The reader shares whatever prejudices are bound up in the text. According to Andrew Wallace-Hadrill the implied reader was interested in, and therefore informed about, culture, especially literature, and the imperial administration. No trouble is taken to explain terms for the benefit of other readers. Lastly, one might note that the rubric method makes the work easy to consult, although it could not be called a reference book.

The compilation of a life is an unvoiced argument about the personality of the subject. It is argument by analogy: instances of behaviour are presented as analogous evidence of some aspect of the subject's personality. There are no references to this argument. It exists only in as much as the catalogue of events, deeds, speech and writing, traits and habits restructures history. But the author is inscribed in the catalogue to a much greater extent than in the narrator. The *exempla* are his indirect discourse. His argument draws heavily on 'common-sense' because of his reluctance to speak *in propria persona*. But it is persuasive for this very reason. It might be objected that the lives are not arguments. According to Wallace-Hadrill, "for Suetonius and his contemporaries his method was self-evident." (p. 144) The doctrine that rulers should be judged in ethical terms was promulgated by philosophers, exploited by the emperors themselves, made trite by panegyrists and beneficiaries and instilled by a rhetorical education:

It is appropriate enough that the closest analogy to Suetonius' method of documenting individual virtues by adducing a series of instances is the method prescribed by the rhetoricians for encomium. (p. 148)

Thus the method itself is 'common-sense', the most persuasive of rhetorical strategies.

Nevertheless it has various shortcomings. First, remarkable and possibly truer conclusions cannot be drawn from instances of behaviour unless the compiler breaks silence. Both ethical judgement and reasoning risk accusations of banality:

the more the political and historical background to a particular event matters, the more dangerous it is to tear it from its context in order to build up a generalisation. (p. 158)

Second, not unrelated to the first, the method cannot cope with subjects whose personalities change or seem changeable or contradictory, like Domitian, Caligula and, to some extent, Vespasian. Nor is it happy with Claudius, whose speech and behaviour resist common-sense interpretation.

Third, the economy of proof requires an extravagant outlay in information. The shortage of material for the lives of the later caesars denies the arguments much of their earlier force. If only a few *exempla* are available, a particular ethical judgement may be difficult to make. The longer narratives in the later lives often do not signal particular aspects of the subject's personality or, if they do, it is unconvincing. For shortage of information exposes the greatest weakness in the argument: some *exempla* may be transferred to other rubrics, altering their significance. It would be obtuse to suggest that this might also be the case in the earlier lives, where thirty or forty *exempla* may be assembled to prove a single judgement. But it does rather call into question Suetonius' methodology. The innocence of the catalogue hides suspect analogies.

It is perhaps already apparent how similar the rubric method is to certain basic narrative techniques. The method resembles not only the amassing of data about characters, but, more important, the narrator's control over the release of data and thus control over the reader. The controlled release of data about Marcus is a matter which I want to treat in the last chapter. For the moment I want to show that data about him is amassed in the *Libro áureo* in the same fashion as it is about subjects in Suetonius' biographies.

The first and second chapters of the *Libro áureo* are concerned with Marcus' ancestry, birth and early life. The third consists mostly of a long extract from a letter by him which ends with an outline of his life up to a point somewhere beyond the age of thirty-five. It closes:

Todo el restante de mi vida tu sabes que se a empleado en tener officios en Roma hasta que a mis manos los hados traxeron la Monarchia. (p. 40)

These three chapters, therefore, convey information equivalent to that listed under the first three headings of the Suetonian life. It is true, however, that much

information which would not be included by Suetonius is given here, something which will be considered later. The order in which the material is set out differs in only two respects from that followed in a Suetonian biography: the first sentence of Chapter One dates Marcus' accession, and notice of his birth is given before an account of his ancestry. But it is enough to suggest that the structure of the Suetonian life is, to say the least, faint in this part of the work.

The last ten chapters of Book One are a chronologically ordered account of the emperor's death. This too proves little. Except for Chapters Twenty-Six and Twenty-Seven, about the monster of Bellina and Antigonus' misfortune, all the events narrated in the section between the end of Chapter Three and the beginning of Thirty-Nine occur while Marcus is emperor. This is assuming that certain undated events, like the bringing-up of his daughters, happened or continued to happen during his reign.

This central section does not readily divide into two parts treating his public and private life. The latter seems rather to be the subject of Book Two, the *Epistolario*. Several letters are clearly written before he acceded. The others were not composed by Marcus or his secretary in his official capacity as emperor. There are no greetings to foreign rulers, requests to client kings, orders for provincial governors, diplomats or generals or, indeed, any of the administrative correspondence to which he might be imagined to have set his seal. At least five are written in his own hand. An exception might be made of the letter to Lambertus, "gouernador enla isla de Hellesponto", for it contains instructions about the treatment of the "maestros de locos" to be exiled there. But most of the letter consists of reflections on the deleterious effect of "locos" on society, and it is in this tenor that the requests are made.

More important than all this is the amount learned about Marcus' private life through the letters. Not only his youthful love-life but his grief long after the death of Verissimus, apparently hidden from the public and not mentioned after Chapter Five, the disgust which triumphs inspire in him, not evident in Book One, and the love and care for the moral welfare of his friends, not touched upon earlier, are among aspects of Marcus' private life revealed in the letters.

Two objections to equating the central section of Book One to the rubrics covering public life in Suetonius' work must be conceded, at least in part: first, that this section deals with almost none of the aspects of government which attract

the attention of the Roman biographer, and second, that several chapters treat Marcus' relationship with his wife and children, not public life. There is little or nothing about military, judicial, administrative, financial or religious affairs during his reign. We do not learn about the new buildings or magnificent games he paid for. However, all the matters in the central section may be related to Marcus' style of government. We are told of his patronage of intellectuals, of how he treated others and how they responded, including the Senate, of how hard he worked and of how he reacted in two crises, the death of his son and the threatened invasion of Britain. We hear from him about the care to be taken in the education of the heir, about his belief that a ruler should be loved by his people, about his loathing for idleness, especially amongst his courtiers, and about the value he sets on wisdom for rulers. The reader may discover little about his reign, but a great deal about the way he ruled. And this, perhaps, explains why certain family matters are included in this section. In Suetonius' work private life usually enters other rubrics when it is a public scandal. Tempting as it is to interpret the revelations about Faustina here in the same way, it seems more appropriate, in view of the fragmentary and incidental manner in which they enter the text, to suggest that the opposite is the case; aspects of the emperor's family life are included for their morally exemplary value. The very first words of the whole section are significant in this respect;

Como la vida del príncipe no sea sino un blanco donde todos assestan, y vn señuelo al qual todos se abaten, vemos por experiencia que alo que es inclinado el príncipe trabaja seguir el pueblo. (p. 41)

By including information about how his daughters were brought up and married off and two long speeches to Faustina on the conduct to be expected of wives and the duties of a mother, the compiler suggests that one feature of Marcus' style as emperor was to set an example to his people in the treatment of his family. This would be a radical policy in line with the thrust of his speeches. He governs by persuading people to be good, in addition to working the machinery of state, and it is the former which most interests the compiler. In spite of various objections, then, the outline of the Suetonian life can be traced, allowing for one major change -the transposition of the account of the emperor's death and the letter-collection revealing his private life-, in the *Libro áureo*.

The central section is a compilation of ten long speeches and narration of some events, deeds, habits and traits. But it seems very different from the rubrics covering the public life of one of Suetonius' twelve emperors. The distinctive rhythm of longer narrative followed by discrete observations and anecdote cannot be detected in the *Libro áureo*. Chapters aggregate and divide into different units, but most of them seem much too long to qualify as *exempla*. It seems impossible to trace an ethical judgement through these large units, even ignoring the speeches. Like those of the Suetonian life, however, they are not in chronological order. Marcus is fifty-two in Chapter Five, forty-four in Chapter Nineteen, fifty-four in Chapter Twenty-Two, forty-two in Chapter Twenty-Six, forty-nine in Chapter Twenty-Eight, forty-five in Chapter Thirty-Three, and he dies at the age of sixty-two.⁶ Nor are these units bound together as different parts of a voiced argument. They are not arranged according to some easily perceived hierarchy. They could be taken out and replaced elsewhere without any loss of coherency and, moreover, without changing their significance. This, in particular, suggests that the rubric method has not determined the structure of this section.

Nevertheless, the method has clearly been used in places. At the end of Chapter Four it is asserted that Marcus treated intellectuals well. The *exempla* offered are: their number and excellence in his reign; the names of those cited by Iulio Capitolino; that these resided with him in the palace, and that there were many in Rome and scattered around Italy; that fathers of two sons would have the one not required to enlist educated, knowing that, if he proved especially intelligent, the youth would be favoured by the emperor. Thus:

Esto todo dezimos por mostrar quanto fueron fauorescidos en tiempo de este emperador todos los sabios. (p. 42)

Y que esto sea verdad parece por muchos y muy excellentes varones en diuersas sciencias doctos, que en su tempestat [sic] florecieron. Iulio Capitulino cuenta algunos dellos, y son los siguientes: Alexandro Griego, Trusion, Polion, Euthicio, Annio Macro, Cauinio, Herode Athico, Fronton, Cornelio, Apollonio,

⁶It should be noted, however, that the ages and dates given by the narrator and by Marcus himself are not always consistent. The appearance of the monster in Bellina, for instance, is dated in the "quadragésimo segundo [año] dela edad de Marco [...], dos años antes que tomase la possession del imperio" (p. 104), whereas a triumph is dated, a little further on, "enel segundo año que fue elegido por Emperador, y enel añ quarenta y cinco de su edad" (p. 126).

Sexto Cheronense, Iunio Rustico, Claudio Maximo, Cina Catulo, Claudio Seuero, y el muy famoso Diogeneto pintor, y el muy docto en leyes Volusio Meciano. (p. 43)

Estos todos estauan en su palacio, y residian en su presencia, que otros muchos auia en Roma, y estauan derramados por Italia. (p. 43)

Cosa fue marauillosa de ver en aquellos tiempos, quanta fue la muchedumbre que florecieron de sabios: no auia padre que si tuuiese dos hijos no pusiese el vno al estudio, el otro por la ley Romana auiale de dar para la guerra. Ya sabian todos que qualquier mancebo que fuese sabio sobre todos, del emperador auia de ser muy fauorecido. (p. 43)

The great care taken by Marcus in bringing up and marrying off his daughters is demonstrated in a similar fashion in Chapters Ten and Eleven. Thirteen instances of his care are listed. The first three are:

en nasciendo la Infanta luego la lleuauan a criar en alguna aldea fuera de Roma.

lomas dexo criar hijo ni hija dentro delos muros de Roma, ni consintio que mamasen pechos de muger delecada. Aborrescia mucho amas regaladas, y amaua labradoras rusticas y sanas, y a estas y no a aquellas daua a criar sus infantas. (p. 59)

His affability and fondness for noble pastimes are two premisses for two series of *exempla* in Chapter Fourteen. Two instances of affability are listed:

este buen Emperador era tan alegre en su cara, tan amigable en sus costumbres, tan amoroso en su conuersacion, que facilmente hechaua los braços enlos hombros, y tomaua delas manos alos negociantes.

Sus porteros no podian impedir alos que le querian conuersar en palacio, ni su guarda era osada apartar alos que querian hablarle enel campo. (p. 69)

Six instances of Marcus' fondness for noble pastimes are listed. The first three are:

fue amigo de musica, especial de buenas bozes e instrumentos; desplaziale esperar el concierto della. (p. 70)

Quando fue moço, lo mas del tiempo passo en deprender las sciencias; siendo mas varon se occupo enla militar disciplina. (p. 70)

Fue amigo de monteria, y no de cetreria. (p. 70)

Exempla similar to those found in Suetonius' lives are used in the *Libro áureo*.

They differ in that the economy of proof does not rule the amount of information included in them. One might cite Chapter Five, on the death of

Verissimus, or Chapter Twenty-Two, on the abortive invasion of Britain, as longer narrative *exempla*. Just like those of Suetonius, the amount of information given in them is governed by an economy of biographical relevance. In the second, in particular, it is easy to see that matters dear to the historian are ignored; there is no explanation of why the "Mauritanos" threatened to invade Britain, or of why it was decided to withdraw or of how this event fits into the larger pattern of international diplomacy. The centurion's speech is reported indirectly:

Preguntado el Centurion, dixo que venian en ella çiento y treynta naos del reyno delos Mauritanos, y la cantidad era veinte mill de pie y dos mill caualleros, y dixo mas que venia por capitan general vn hermano del Rey delos Mauritanos, por nombre Asclipio, y que auia tomado tierra en vn puerto dela jsla que se llamaua Arpino, y que para resistir tan gran potença auia poca gente de guarniçion enla jsla. (pp. 92-3)

The fact that the leader of the invasion force is the king's brother and the number of ships and men are given to indicate the gravity of the situation so that Marcus' self-control in concealing his alarm, reported in the next sentence and evident in his reply, is powerfully conveyed. The name of the port might also indicate how close to defeat the Roman forces are. Yet it is hard to think of a rubric under which Suetonius might write this, the preceding sentence:

Enel año cinquenta y quatro dela edad de Marco Emperador, y decimo año dela election de su Emperio, enel mes de Quintilis, estando enla çiudad de Parthinopolis, y no bien dispuesto dela salud porque le fatigaba la gota enlos pies, vinole vn Centurion a manera de tabellario con gran furia, diziendole como enla gran Bretaña repentinamente auia venido vna armada. (p. 92)⁷

One might guess that Marcus retired to Partinoples for a rest and to cure his gout. The testiness which this illness is supposed to cause perhaps further emphasises his self-control. But this is information which Suetonius would not have included in his longer narratives. All the same, the supplementary information is all biographically relevant.

The substitution of economy of biographical relevance for that of proof was already, if not actual, immanent in Suetonius' later lives. In the *Libro áureo*,

⁷"Tabellario" means messenger. See Luis Vives, *De conscribendis epistolis*, in the *Obras completas*, trans. Lorenzo Riber, (Madrid: Aguilar, 1948), vol.II, p. 872.

however, this economy rules the other kinds of *exemplum*. In Chapter Ten the narrator records:

lomas dexo [Marco] criar hijo ni hija dentro delos muros de Roma, ni consintio que mamasen pechos de muger delicada. Aborrescia mucho amas regaladas, y amaua labradoras rusticas y sanas, y a estas y no a aquellas daua a criar sus infantas. Assi mesmo desde que nascia la hija y la dauan al ama, no consentia que tornasen a casa. (p. 59)

There are too many redundancies here for the economy of proof to be operative. Notice of how he never permitted his sons to grow up within the walls of Rome does not prove the premiss that "fue estremado este Emperadaor en criar las hijas". The very construction of the second sentence, beginning "Aborrescia", diverts attention from how the girls grew up to Marcus' theory of wet-nurses, which only indirectly serves to prove the premiss. Further down the page a short narrative provides the context for a question and answer from the emperor about his pedagogical method. Many details are supplementary to proving the premiss, notable among them the parasite's name, quotation rather than indirect report of his question, and quotation of the whole of Marcus' reply rather than extraction of the relevant sentence, the second. The question reiterates what has already been learnt in the previous *exemplum*: Galindus bears witness to the narrator. This could not be achieved if his speech was reported indirectly. The explanation offered by the emperor reveals various aspects of his personality; above all his powers of ethical reasoning and his love for his people. The name "Galindo" fuses *gala* and *lindo*, thus indicating what kind of people are to be found at the court.⁸ This and his question show that, as Marcus believes, the court is no place to bring up a daughter. Once again, therefore, there is more information than necessary to prove the premiss. Since in each case the economy of proof has been discarded, the question arises as to whether these units deserve to be called *exempla*. Each unit has several functions, but in each case one of them is exemplary and it explains the location of the unit in the text. It seems reasonable, therefore, to label

⁸ Many instances where popular etymology and sonority explain similar coinage are recorded by Cesar E. Quiroga Salcedo in his article "Embustes e invenciones en el lenguaje de fray Antonio de Guevara: Ensayo de estilística lingüística", (*Románica* 1 (1960), pp. 175-91).

them '*exempla*', with the proviso that they are governed by a different economy from those of Suetonius.

Apart from this the *exempla* are very similar to those of the Roman biographer. The longer narrative is nine sentences long and covers a period of several months. (The despatch and return of the task force must have taken such a period.) It is summary, but the description of the arrival of the centurion and of the emperor's response and the quotation of his speech impedes the advance of the narrative so that a scene almost develops. Certainly both here and in the shorter narrative distance varies. But like the shorter narrative *exempla* of the Roman biographer, the latter is not located at some specific point in time. We are invited to assume that the way Marcus brought up his daughters never changed, like the habits of emperors recorded by Suetonius. The compilation is like his in as much as traits and habits are mixed with shorter narrative not collected and isolated from the rest in the same way.

One other unit remains to be considered: the speech. There is nothing like the long speeches in the *Libro áureo* in Suetonius' work. One might try to compare them to letters, but even the long extract from Augustus' first letter in the life of Claudius is much shorter than any of the long speeches in *El libro áureo*. There is no avoiding the fact that in this respect the structure of Guevara's work is quite different from that of one of Suetonius' lives. Quotations of letters in the latter are governed by an economy of proof. A sign of this is that they are extracts. The long speeches in the *Libro áureo*, in contrast, are quoted *in extenso*. This suggests that they are *exempla* governed by the economy of biographical relevance. To show this it is necessary to examine the central section of Book One.

It was suggested earlier that Chapters Six, Seven, Eight and Nine constitute *exempla* proving the care taken in the education of the heir. This should now seem more certain given that the economy of biographical relevance governs the information included in the *exempla*. Therefore, although the whole of the speech to the five sacked tutors is not necessary to prove the care taken in the education of Commodus, it is biographically relevant. The same is the case for the speech to the nine remaining pedagogues. It should be added that Chapter Five forms an integral part of the same *exemplum* in as much as it explains the need for such care in the education of Commodus. All five chapters are a loosely related narrative proving the one premiss. Chapters Fourteen, Sixteen and Seventeen

provide different *exempla* to prove an ethical judgement about Marcus' treatment of others. First comes a series of traits and habits, a long saying quoted and a short narrative concerning a riot caused by some pantomimes and buffoons who are, in consequence, exiled. Chapter Fifteen consists of a series of *exempla* proving his affability. Chapter Sixteen relates the act of clemency performed by Marcus on the occasion of the feast of Janus. Finally, arising out of this deed, the speech on how rulers should not be reserved is quoted in Chapter Seventeen. The series of *exempla* is broken by the introduction of others to prove that Marcus "era amigo de nobles exerçios" in Chapter Fourteen. Nevertheless, the rubric method structures the whole of the rest.

The same kind of rupture can be detected elsewhere in the central section. Chapter Eighteen proves that "Marco Emperador jamas estaua oçioso", mostly by giving his daily timetable. It ends by noting that after fulfilling his official duties the emperor would retire to his study, adding that it was kept locked. In the first sentence of the next chapter, by way of an introduction to the quarrel with Faustina, we are told that no one else was ever allowed into the study. Immediately after this comes the narrative of the abortive attempt to invade Britain and the long speech which the situation in the court on that occasion inspires in Marcus. It is the speech against idleness. This speech, therefore, and Chapter Eighteen articulate an ethical judgement of Marcus: they prove that he despised idleness. The second sentence of Chapter Eighteen clearly looks forward to the speech which begins five chapters later:

No abasta al philosopho reprehender el vicio por palabra enlos otros, sino que es necessario el mesmo ponga por obra lo que enlos otros reprehendia. (p. 80)

The quarrel with Faustina proves that no one was ever permitted to enter his study, not even his wife when she was pregnant. It is biographically relevant to the central section as a whole, but it adds nothing to our appreciation of Marcus' attitude to idleness. It ruptures the rubric method in just the same way as the material about Marcus' noble pastimes did in Chapter Fourteen.

The premiss that Marcus despised idleness is also related to matter in an earlier chapter. The first sentence of Chapter Eighteen reads:

Dicho auemos arriba como este buen Emperador tuuo gran enemistad con los hombres no de buena vida, que en malos exercicios passauan su vida. (p. 80)

This can only refer to the expulsion of pantomimes and buffoons at the end of Chapter Fourteen. Thus a rubric can be traced through ten chapters by, as it were, disregarding irrelevant *exempla*. Two questions arise; first, whether the rubric method can be traced in a similar fashion through the whole of the central section, and second, whether the section could be rewritten to show this. The answer to both is no. The expulsion of the pantomimes and buffoons has two functions as an *exemplum*. It proves that Marcus was affable to everyone except them in its immediate context. Linked to Chapters Eighteen and Twenty-Two to Twenty-Four, it proves again that Marcus despised idleness. The central section could not, therefore, be rewritten using the rubric method without discarding one of the meanings of the *exemplum* (unless it were inserted twice).

The chapters selected for analysis above are comparative rarities in as much as a premiss is stated, however vaguely, and several *exempla* or a long narrative entailing several *exempla* prove it. The speech on the value of wisdom in rulers in Chapters Twenty-Nine and Thirty is not premised and it is a single *exemplum* in the midst of others proving quite different aspects of Marcus' style as a ruler. One could relate it to Chapter Four, another sign of his love of wisdom, but, apart from this there is no other *exemplum* or series of *exempla* about this in the central section. Consequently it would not really be possible to trace the rubric method throughout the central section. There may be a pattern here, however, analogous to the Suetonian separation of long narratives from discrete observations and anecdotes. Up to Chapter Twenty-Five the rubric method can be traced, indeed, as we have seen, in places it is explicit, but after this point it becomes impossible; *exempla* are not listed beneath a premiss but set out in some disorder. One might say that in the first half the reader is taught to read the second, that is, to discover the ethical judgement inscribed in the discourse. Finally, it should be remarked that the compiler of the *Libro áureo* encounters the same problem as Suetonius in the later lives; shortage of material. But whereas the Roman biographer risks being criticised for passing judgement on insufficient, unacceptable or unconvincing evidence, the narrator of the *Libro áureo* transfers the burden of judgement to the reader by, first, applying the criterion of

biographical relevance, and second, by breaking up the rubric method.

The narrator of the *Libro áureo* seems initially, perhaps, quite different from that of the Suetonian life. But almost the same narrative mode is operative. Nothing is reported which would be impossible to know. Long speeches are not fabricated and put into the mouths of Marcus and Panucius. They are, rather, quoted complete and verbatim. Marcus concludes his speech to his courtiers on idleness in Chapter Five with these words:

Y porque mas la tengais en la memoria, y porque para los principes aduenideros quede en doctrina, yo tenga esta platica escripta en todas las lenguas, y puesta en el alto Capitolio con otras muchas mis escripturas. (pp. 103-4)

On his death bed he requests that Panucius write down his speech so that he can peruse it. In the second letter to Catullus in the collection, having quoted the Asian ambassador's speech in its entirety, he notes:

Por cierto, mi Catulo, estas fueron las palabras que dixo en el Senado, porque despues yo se las pedi por escripto. (p. 276)

This is enough to indicate how all the speeches came to be written down, (although not how they came down to Guevara, of course).

In the first three chapters the narrator is closer to a historian than to the narrator of a Suetonian life. Marcus' life up to accession is ostentatiously reconstructed from various texts. In the prologue we are told:

Es de saber que entre los maestros que a este Emperador enseñaron las sciencias, fueron tres, conuiene a saber: Iunio Rustico, Cina Catulo, y Sexto Cheronense, sobrino del gran Plutarcho: estos tres fueron los que escriuieron la presente historia, Sexto Cheronense en griego, y los otros dos en latin. (p. 20)

In Chapter Two Sextus of Chaeronea is not mentioned as an author of "la presente historia", but we are told that Marcus

tomo por maestros a Iunio Rustico el qual despues escriuio su vida, y a Cina Catulo, que escriuio la muerte suya, y la vida de Commodo su hijo. (pp. 35-6)

But there is no mention of Catullus as the source within the last ten chapters. Indeed there are hardly any references to the texts of "la presente historia" in the rest of the work. Different accounts of events are not compared. Selection of the

material used precedes writing here as it does in Suetonius' lives. Towards the end of the "Argumento del interprete" the implied author reports:

Como los historiographos de quien sacaua eran muchos, y la historia que sacaua no mas de vna, no quiero negar que quite algunas cosas insipidas y menos vtiles, y entrexeri otras muy suaues y prouechosas. (p. 21)

But, as with Suetonius, there is no way of telling from the text which sources are being used for which details, any more than there is of deciding when the implied author has amended history. Most references to sources and to *lacunae* are concentrated in the first three chapters. In Chapter Thirteen, however, the narrator ends the matter about the selection of a suitable son-in-law thus:

En que paro este casamiento no lo ponen los historiadores alos quales en esta obra seguimos. (p. 68)

But for the most part the reader is not reminded of the other texts mediating the subject and this narration, except perhaps, by the re-structuring of history as *exempla*.

Details often suggest that the narrator was actually present at the events narrated, although scenes are not described. Towards the end of Chapter Thirty-Nine, for instance, Marcus' last illness is described:

El calor era grande, las vascas mayores, la sed mucha, el comer poco y el dormir ninguno, la cara amarilla y la boca negra, a tiempos alçaba los ojos, otras vezes iunctaua las manos, callaua siempre y sospiraua contino, tenia la garganta muy seca que no podia escupir, y los ojos muy humidos de llorar. (p. 152-3)

In fact there is nothing here or elsewhere which could not have been taken from some other text. It is the oratory in the voice, more particularly the figure *demonstratio*, which suggests that the narrator was actually present. The subject's psyche remains inviolate, although words or phrases which in another genre might indicate that access has been gained are perhaps more frequent here than in Suetonius' work. But conjecture shows that this is not the case. One might recall the subjunctive clause in the description of Marcus' response to the news of the invasion of Britain:

El noble Emperador, oyda la embaxada, puesto que de dentro lo sintiere como hombre, pero defuera lo dissimulo como discreto, mostrando serenidad enel rostro y reposo enlas palabras. (p. 93)

The major difference in mode is the variation in distance between the immediacy of complete verbatim quotation of a long speech and summary narrative. The biographical relevance also gives the shorter speeches an immediacy which Suetonius' extracts never achieve. But another economy is perhaps operative here. The very lack of information about Marcus' life endows the speeches with much more value as signs of personality than narration.

The narrator's voice differs completely from that of the Suetonian life. Narration is closer to transcribed speech than to a grapholect. Many of the oral techniques employed in the speeches can be heard in the narrator's discourse. He is not laconic. But *copia* is limited by the urge to pursue a narrative. The narrator is personal, but not an identifiable person. He perhaps never refers to himself or to his opinions. Unlike the narrator of the Roman biographies, he comments frequently on his subject, other people and events. But there is nothing that qualifies as 'analysis'. He digresses to bring in more or less relevant information about Roman history and customs and to generalize. There are many explicit value judgements. Marcus' title rarely appears without an epithet like "buen" or "noble". On the other hand one should not ignore those narratives which are related without much comment from the narrator. The only sign, for instance, of how the narrator judges the quarrel over access to the study lies in the opening generalisation:

Como sea natural alas mugeres menospreçiar lo que les dan y morir por lo que les niegan, teniendo el Emperador el estudio de su casa en vn lugar de palaçio muy secreto, enel qual a muger ni familiares amigos alli dexaua entrar, aconteçio que [...] (p. 83)

Moreover although the narrator may seem far from anonymous to the modern reader, his style was probably much less distinctive to an audience used to pulpit oratory. The narrator may be closer to Suetonius' anonymity, if not his scholarly style, than we may at first believe. But easily the most obvious difference between the two narrators is that the Roman belongs to the culture whose rulers he describes. Guevara's narrator regards that culture as different from, but seeks an ethos that is similar to his own and his reader's.

The implied reader is almost certainly a listener. This is clear not only from the investment in oratory but also from the structure of the work. There is little to be gained by consuming the work like a novel from beginning to end once. But knowledge of different parts of the work, especially the letter-collection, is rewarded in various ways, most notably by irony shared with the narrator over Marcus' pronouncements on the temptations of the flesh. This perhaps suggests that there is something to be gained from reading the work from beginning to end in order. But ironies do not grow with plot. Rather, once one knows what the second half of the letter-collection reveals, it is merely a question of finding them in the Book One. A new listener, given a certain amount of information, could listen to the same reading as others who know the work well without becoming confused or necessarily bored. The implied reader is no less ignorant than Guevara. She or he is also perhaps something of an autodidact, interested in and to a limited extent informed about ancient Rome. One could almost measure the implied reader's knowledge of Latin and of Roman history by listing details explained by the narrator against other matter assumed to be understood. But it is difficult to tell how much is, in fact, assumed. For instance, the narrator reports the centurion's news that Britain was about to be invaded "enel mes de Quintilis". But there is no way of telling whether the listener, or Guevara for that matter, knows merely that *Quintilis* is a month in the Roman calendar, or that it is the fifth month, or that it is equivalent to July. Finally, and most obviously, the implied reader enjoys the didactic matter. It seems highly improbable that so many readers and their listeners would have ploughed through Marcus' speeches merely in the hope of finding fresh revelations about the emperor's misspent youth. We may say, therefore, that the *Libro áureo* shares much the same narrative mode as the Suetonian life, but differs in the voice of and in the reader implied by the narrator.

The Suetonian life provided Guevara with a structure which seems classical and, thus, verisimilar. It is also a structure used to control the release of data about Marcus in order to eventually show, as we shall see, that the work is not based on classical biography at all, but is fiction. It is not the only structure used to this effect. The most revealing data is amassed by Marcus himself in his speeches and letters.

Chapter 3

Speeches and Letters

The speeches and letters in the *Libro áureo* constitute a great variety of discourse including that of treatises *de educandis pueris* and *de regimine principum*, misogyny, sermons, petitions for clemency, exhortations to study, the *ars moriendi*, lamentations and consolations on bereavement, consolations on exile and on other misfortunes, admonitions about and exhortations to virtue, news and love-letters. The speeches cannot be classified according to the three *genera dicendi* of classical and Renaissance rhetoric; forensic or judicial, deliberative and demonstrative or epideictic oratory. The questions at issue are not whether someone is innocent or guilty, whether a course of action should be adopted or rejected or whether someone is virtuous and noble or vicious and base. Often both the speeches and letters are transformations of some other discourse. Two or more kinds are mixed or added together. Or the usual proposition is replaced by a new one, so that common arguments are advanced to an unusual end. This makes the speeches and letters very difficult to classify. Defining their function in the work does not indicate their relationship to other discourse. And indicating this relationship by classifying the discourse does not define its function in the work.

Making speeches and letters out of other discourse is not unusual. It is frequently asserted in *artes epistolandi* that correspondence is a dialogue between absent people.¹ In his "Notes toward the Study of the Renaissance Letter", Claudio Guillén denies this, citing Derrida and arguing that, since the author is involved in "a silent, creative process of self-distancing and self-modelling", letters are quite different from the unpremeditated ejaculations of oral dialogue.² This

¹Erasmus -citing a fragment of Turpilus cited in a letter by St Jerome- defines a letter as "a mutual conversation between absent friends" (*De conscribendis epistolis*, trans. Charles Fantazzi, in *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), vol. 25, p. 20). Vives defines it as "una conversación entre personas ausentes mediante signos escritos" (*De conscribendis epistolis*, in *Obras completas*, trans. Lorenzo Riber, (Madrid: Aguilar, 1948), vol. II, p. 841a).

²Claudio Guillén, "Notes toward the Study of the Renaissance Letter", in *Renaissance Genres. Essays in Theory, History and Interpretation*, ed. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Harvard English Studies*, 14, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 78.

may be true. It is also true, however, that letters and interlocutions in written dialogues resemble each other. Comparison of Cicero's dialogues and letters or of Boethius' *De consolazione philosophiae* and Seneca's letters *Ad Marciam*, *Ad Polybium* and *Ad Helviam* would provide evidence of this in classical literature. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it is most obvious, perhaps, in sentimental romances and works of the celestinesque genre in which lamentatory and consolatory letters and love-letters are transformed into spoken lamentations and consolations and, as it were, love-speeches. There are similar transformations of other kinds of letter in prosimetrical works and dialogues.³ Passages of Don Pedro de Portugal's *Tragedia de la insigne reina doña Isabel* and Diego Ramírez Villaescusa's *Dialogi quattuor super auspicio Hispaniae principis emortualis die* resemble letters to console the bereaved.⁴ However oratorical they might now seem, therefore, the speeches and letters in the *Libro áureo* may have seemed more like conversation to Guevara's contemporaries.

Almost every speech and letter in the *Libro áureo* resembles both classical and modern letters of the same kind. Guevara combines classical and modern arguments to sustain uncertainty regarding the authenticity of the discourse. It is true that many fifteenth and sixteenth century letters are imitations of those of classical authors and, therefore, that there may be little or no difference between them. But this is not always the case. Fifteenth and sixteenth century authors compose letters on different occasions from those of their classical predecessors. Moreover, even on the same occasion the arguments advanced may be different. It is possible, therefore, to distinguish between classical and modern arguments and letters.

The *ars dictaminis*, which came into being in Italy towards the end of the eleventh century, lasted throughout Europe into the 1500s. How, when and where

³The close relationship between letters and dialogues is noticed on several occasions by Antonio Prieto in chapters dealing with these forms in *La prosa española del siglo XVI* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1986) vol.I, pp. 59-98 and 99-114.

⁴The former is included in the *Obras completas do condestável dom Pedro de Portugal*, edited by Luís Adão da Fonseca (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1975), pp. 305-48. The latter is partially translated by Felix G. Olmedo in his *Diego Ramírez Villaescusa (1459-1537). Fundador del Colegio de Cuenca y autor de los cuatro diálogos sobre la muerte del príncipe Don Juan* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1944), appendix I, pp. 238-96.

this technology ceased to regulate letter-writing is a problem. In his article "Humanism and Scholasticism in the Italian Renaissance", Paul Oskar Kristeller notes that the humanists inherited the offices held by the *dictatores* and, as part of that legacy, two discursive practices: the letter and the speech.⁵ Official letters continued to take the form prescribed by the *dictatores*. But in their private letters the humanists sought to reproduce the classical form, imitating, above all, Cicero's letters. Ronald Witt, in his article "Medieval *Ars Dictaminis* and the Beginnings of Humanism: A New Construction of the Problem", refining Kristeller's thesis, argues that although Italian humanists began to impose the classical form on their speeches in the late 1300s, official letters continued to be regulated by the medieval technology throughout the fifteenth century.⁶ The evidence available suggests a similar state of affairs in Spain. *Artes dictaminis* continue to be composed, copied and eventually printed in Spain during the fifteenth century.⁷ Official letters composed in the name of the monarch approximate to the form prescribed by the *dictatores*. Private letters composed by humanists or pre-humanists (eg, Alfonso de Palencia) do not. Two differences from the Italian experience should be noted. Some features of the medieval form are disregarded; *salutatio* is simplified, *captatio benevolentiae* is not included, items of news irrelevant to *petitio* are inserted before *conclusio*. The letters are

⁵Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Humanism and Scholasticism in the Italian Renaissance", *Byzantion*, 17 (1944-5), pp. 345-74.

⁶Ronald Witt, "Medieval *Ars Dictaminis* and the Beginnings of Humanism: A New Construction of the Problem", *Renaissance Quarterly*, XXXV (1982), pp. 1-35.

⁷One of the last, perhaps, was Fernando Manzanares's *Flores rhetoricí* (Salamanca: c.1485), described by Charles Faulhaber in his essay "Las retóricas hispanolatinas medievales (siglos XIII-XV)", in *Repertorio de historia de las ciencias eclesiásticas en España* 7, (Salamanca: Instituto de Historia de la Teología Española, 1979), pp. 11-64, at pp. 30-3. In his article "Retóricas clásicas y medievales en bibliotecas castellanas", (*Abaco*, 4 (1973), p. 159), Faulhaber notes that in terms of numbers composed and copied, the *ars dictaminis* is in decline, in Spain, during the fifteenth century not only in comparison to the production of the previous two hundred years, but also in proportion to the number of classical *artes rhetoricæ* copied.

often in the vernacular.⁸

In his essay "The cult of Antiquity: letters and letter collections", Cecil H. Clough argues that Italian humanist letter-collections were not influential until the last third of the fifteenth century and that interest in them, although great, was relatively brief.⁹ Some humanists (eg, Valla and Guarino) never assembled a collection. In any case, collections were rarely transcribed *in toto*. Instead, anthologies of letters by different humanists were composed. In the early 1470s the collections of Leonardo Bruni, Francesco Filelfo and Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini were printed. They proved popular. Bruni's was reprinted five times before 1501, Filelfo's eighteen. Other humanists' collections soon appeared on the market. But after 1537, when Pietro Aretino's *Lettere* came out, the number of neo-Latin collections declined swiftly, superseded by others in the vernacular. In Spain interest in humanist letter-collections seems to have been much slighter. Humanists who might have been expected to have assembled a collection (eg, Nebrija and Mejía) did not. To my knowledge, the first humanist collection published in Spain was Lucio Marineo Sículo's *Epistolarum familiarum* (Valladolid: Arnaldus Guielmus Brocarius, 1514). This is the only edition noted by Palau y Dulcet. A collection of Pedro Mártir de Anglería's letters was published posthumously at Alcalá in 1530. Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda published his at Salamanca in 1557, and it was reprinted at Paris in 1591 and Cologne in 1602. The editorial success obtained by Guevara's *Epístolas familiares*, in contrast, is notorious. Fray Francisco Ortíz's collection of the same name was also popular. It went through two editions (in Alcalá and Zaragoza) in 1552, the year it was first published.

A reason for the slight interest in Spain in humanist letter-collections might

⁸I have in mind some letters from Fernando and Isabel to Diego de Valera included as an appendix to the latter's *Tratado de las epístolas* in the first volume of Mario Penna's *Prosistas castellanas del siglo XV*, BAE vol. 116 (Madrid: Atlas, 1959), pp. 47-51. Vernacular letters taking the form prescribed by the *dictatores* are not an exclusively Spanish phenomenon. Malcolm Richardson includes five English letters of the same form in his article "The *Dictamen* and its Influence on Fifteenth-Century English Prose" (*Rhetorica*, II (1984), pp. 215-6).

⁹Cecil H. Clough, "The cult of Antiquity: letters and letter collections", in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. Cecil H. Clough, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), pp. 33-67.

be the vernacular letter-writing tradition. There are a fairly large number of fifteenth-century Castilian letters, detached and in collections, known. Reference to other vernacular letters, similarities in form and in kinds included in collections are evidence of the strength of this tradition. The Italian humanist cultivation of the classical form seems to have reached Spain too late to have been influential. Yet frequent mention of two Latin authors, Cicero and Seneca, in fifteenth century Castilian vernacular letters suggests that the letter-collections (and treatises) of these two may have been influential. Moreover, the difference between these and (Italian) humanist letters seems rather smaller than critics seem to assume, little more than the language, Latin. Certain kinds of letter included in humanist collections are not present in Castilian ones and vice versa. But most kinds are common to both. The same *topoi* are used, and the letter is ordered in the same way. These letters are not the production of professionals, of *dictatores* or proto-humanists. On the contrary they seem to be the pastime of dilettanti aristocrats. Guevara's *Epístolas familiares* are the culmination of this tradition.

To treat each and every speech and letter in the work extensively, to identify the discourse and to prove the relationship, would fill a dissertation by itself. My argument is merely that the speeches and letters constitute a great variety of discourse. It will be enough, therefore, to select a few of them, identify the principal arguments and name other discourse where the same or similar arguments are advanced. In order to show how discourse is transformed, however, I shall end the chapter with a close analysis of Marcus' consolatory letter to Lavinia and his vituperative letter to the Roman prostitutes.

The last section of Marcus' second speech, delivered to Commodus' tutors about the education of his son and heir, resembles a treatise *de educandis pueris*. The two most famous classical treatises on this subject are Plutarch's work and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* or, more exactly, Book One of it. Many treatises of the same kind were written during the Renaissance. Erasmus' *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis* is probably the most famous.¹⁰ Nebrija wrote a *De liberis educandis libellus* and Books Two and Three of the *Scholástico* cover the

¹⁰ A *Declamation on the Subject of Early Liberal Education for Children* translated with notes by Beert C. Verstraete. In the *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 26. (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1985), pp. 292-346.

same material.¹¹ Erasmus frequently cites Plutarch and Quintilian in his treatise. And Nebrija makes these two and also Xenophon, presumably the *Cyropaedia*, prescribed reading. Both the classical and the Renaissance treatises are about much more than teaching, education in the restricted sense. They include material on a multitude of subjects including choice of a mother, breast-feeding and early upbringing as well as about the inculcation of morals.

Marcus makes eight proposals regarding his son's education. The first is that he should not be allowed to lie: "te ruego[...] que le echeis aspero freno, porque queda de buena boca, de manera que ninguno le tome en mentira." (p. 54) The second is that he should not be allowed to gamble: "Poned mucho recaudo en mirarle las manos, porque no se desmande por los tableros iugando con otros perdidos." The third is that he should be composed: "Mucho os encomiendo que a este mi hijo aunque sea niño le hagais ser reposado." The fourth is that he should be chaste: "No hos descuydeis echarle buena cadena y tenerla bien atado, porque no se vaya alas yeguas." The fifth is that he should not be spoiled: "enel castigo no tengais respecto a que es niño tierno, ni hijo mio, ni de su madre regalado, ni del imperio Romano unico heredero." The sixth is "Hazedle siempre ocupar en actos virtuosos." (p. 56) The seventh concerns recreation: "Algunas recreaciones hos pedira su moçedad, las quales le concedereis con tal que sean raras, y primero por la razon medidas, y despues de nobles exercicios tomadas." And the last one concerns what he should be taught: "Quiero tambien que mi hijo el prinçipe deprenda las siete artes liberales."

The last of these eight proposals is the odd one out. The first seven are much the same as those made by Erasmus and Quintilian and especially, it seems to me, by Plutarch. The latter argues in the *De liberis educandis* (11.c) that it is "a sacred duty [...] to accustom children to speak the truth".¹² He also argues that "an unruffled temper" should be cultivated in children (10.c, p. 49). Although

¹¹ Antonio de Nebrija, *De liberis educandis libellus*, edited by Roque Chabas, *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos* IX (1903), pp. 56-66. Cristóbal de Villalón, *El scholástico*, edited with a preliminary study by Richard J.A. Kerr (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1967).

¹² Plutarch, *The Education of Children*, in the *Moralia*, with a translation by Frank Cole Babitt, vol. I, (London: William Heinemann; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1927), p.53. All page references are to this translation.

corporal punishment should not be used, young men need to be kept firmly in check: "the iniquities of early manhood are often monstrous and wicked - unlimited gluttony, theft of parents' money, gambling, revels, drinking bouts, love affairs with young girls and corruption of married women. The impulses of young men should therefore be kept fettered and restrained by careful supervision." (12.b, p. 57) And he also argues that the exercise of the body should not be overlooked. The issue of what exactly children should be taught is treated at some length. General knowledge should be acquired, in his opinion, but philosophy is the most important subject. Marcus' proposal that Commodus should learn the seven liberal arts is an obvious anachronism. Even if a reader was unaware that this curriculum came into being at medieval universities, it would be obvious that something was amiss because only a few pages before Marcus describes his own, thoroughly classical education in the letter in Chapter Three. This does not affect my thesis, however, that the last section of this speech resembles a treatise *de educandis pueris*.

The speech of the peasant from the Danube, Milenus, has long been identified as a protest against injustice. María Rosa Lida notes that much the same arguments are advanced in the speech delivered by the leader of the Garamantes to Alexander the Great in the *Relox de príncipes*. In a footnote she points out that this speech

se remonta a la embajada escita que es ya un ejercicio retórico en la historia novelada de Alejandro por Quinto Curcio, VII, 8. De aquí la tornó Gautier de Châtillon para su *Alexandreis* (VIII, 496 y sigs.), delicias de la clerecía medieval, y de los hexámetros de la *Alexandreis* pasó a la cuaderna vía del *Libro de Alexandre*, 1916-1939, ed. Willis. (p. 362)

It is perhaps just worth adding that a translation of the Scythian's speech is included at the beginning of the *Cancionero de Herberay des Essarts*.¹³ And a similar fictional protest delivered by a Greek woman called "Clarichea" to the Roman senate is recited by Alonso Osorio in the *Scholástico* (pp. 185-91).

Panucius' speech to Marcus resembles both classical consolations on

¹³ *Le Chansonnier Espagnol d'Herberay des Essarts (XVe siècle)*, edited with a historical study by Charles V. Aubrun, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Hispaniques, fasc. XX2 (Bordeaux: Férét et fils, 1951), pp. 15-6.

bereavement and the *ars moriendi*. As Mary Catherine O'Connor shows in *The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the 'Ars moriendi'*, this discourse became very popular during the Renaissance.¹⁴ There are several Spanish *artes*. Haebler lists an anonymous one published at Saragossa around 1481 and republished at the end of the decade and again at the beginning of the next (nos. 36 & 37). Pedro de Covarrubias' *Aparejo de bien morir* was published at Toledo in 1526. Francisco de Evia's *Praeparatio mortis* was published at Alcalá in 1528. Pedro de Navarra's *Diálogos de la preparación de la muerte* was published at Tolosa around 1565. And Pedro Alfonso de Burgos' *Libro de la preparación para la muerte y de cómo debe ser tenida en poco* was published at Barcelona in 1568.¹⁵ The most famous was probably Erasmus' *De praeparatione ad mortem*.¹⁶ Panucius' arguments, however, are all deduced from natural, not supernatural or divine, reason. In this respect the speech resembles classical consolatory letters on bereavement such as Seneca's letter to Polybius, consoling him on the death of his brother, his letter to Marcia, consoling her on the death of her son, and, to a lesser extent, two of the letters in the *Ad Lucilium* (63 & 99).

Marcus' reply to this speech is the only one with any historical basis. It includes many of the arguments advanced by Herodian to explain why Marcus was perturbed as he lay dying in Pannonia. Herodian records (1.3.1):

Guessing there was little hope for his recovery and realizing that his son was at the age of early adolescence, he was afraid that the young man would grow up in control of absolute, unchecked power without parental authority.¹⁷

In the *Libro áureo* Marcus explains that he is not afraid of death as Panucius had

¹⁴Mary Catherine O'Connor, *The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the 'Ars moriendi'* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942).

¹⁵These Spanish *artes* are listed in Isaias Rodriguez's *Autores espirituales españoles (1500-1570)*, in the *Repertorio de historia de las ciencias eclesiásticas en España*, vol. 3 (Siglos XIII-XVI) (Salamanca: Instituto de historia de teología española, 1971), p. 424.

¹⁶I have inspected an anonymous English translation; *Preparation to Deathe*. London, 1538, The English Experience series no. 733, (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum; Norwood, N.J.: Walter J. Johnson, 1975).

¹⁷*Herodian*, with a translation by C.R. Whittaker, (London: William Heinemann; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 11 & 13. All citations are from this translation.

supposed, but afraid for the empire because it will be ruled by Commodus:

Hagote saber que por eso siento tanto la muerte, porque dexo a mi hijo Commodus en esta vida en edad peligrosa para el y sospechosa para el imperio. [...] Mi hijo Commodus, en lo poco que es en mi vida veo lo muy menos que sera despues de mi muerte. No sabes porque lo digo? que no lo digo sin causa. es el principe mi hijo moço en la edad, y moço y muy mas moço en el seso; tiene la inclinacion mala, y no se haze fuerça en ella; rigese por su seso, como si fuese hombre experimentado; sabe poco, y no se da nada por ello. Delo passado no ha visto nada, en lo presente solo se ocupa. Finalmente, por lo que veo agora con los ojos y sospecho en el coraçon, adeuino que muy presto la persona de mi hijo ha de peresçer. Criole su madre Faustina muy delicado, y por pedregales muy asperos le queda de andar mucho camino. Entra agora en las sendas de la moçedad solo y sin guia, temome se quede emboscado en la espessura de los viçios. (pp. 162-3)

Herodian records that since he was well-read "Marcus was worried when he recalled rulers in the past who had succeeded to power as young men" (1.3.2, p.13). And this is just what Marcus does in the *Libro áureo*:

Acuerdome de muchos que de su edad heredaron el imperio, los quales todos fueron atreuidos en la vida, que meresçieron renombres de tyrannos en la muerte. (p. 164)

The first of the real *exempla* adduced in Herodian is "Dionysius, the Sicilian tyrant, who used to pay high prices for exquisite, novel pleasures because he lacked sufficient self control" (*ibid*). It is the first of the real *exempla* adduced by Marcus in the *Libro áureo*:

Acuerdome de Dionisio, famoso tyranno de Tinacria, que assi daua premio a los que inuentauan viçios, como nuestra Roma a los que vençian reynos. Que mayor tyrannia podia ser en el tyranno, que los mas viçiosos fuesen sus mas priuados?

In Herodian Alexander's successors are adduced: "and there were the excesses and violence of Alexander's successors towards their subjects whereby they brought shame on Alexander's rule." (*ibid*) They are named by Marcus in the *Libro áureo*:

Acuerdome de los quatro Reyes que succedieron al magno Alexandro, a Tholomeo, Antiocho, Seleuco, y Antigono, a los quales tambien los llaman los Griegos grandes tyranos como a su señor gran Emperador. Lo que Alexandro auia ganado con famosos triumphos, ellos lo perdieron por muy viçiosos, y de esta manera el mundo que partio Alexandro entre solos quatro, vino a

manos de mas de quatroçientos.

In Herodian Antigonus' behaviour is adduced as another real *exemplum*. He "modelled himself completely on Dionysus, wearing an ivy wreath on his head instead of a royal Macedonian bonnet and carrying an ivy wand instead of a sceptre." (1.3.3, pp. 13 & 15) Marcus adduces the same real *exemplum* in the *Libro áureo*:

Acuerdome que Antigono, teniendo en poco lo que a su señor Alexandro auia costado mucho, era tan liuiano en su moçedad, y tan atreuido en su reyno, que por escarnio, en lugar de corona de oro traya vnas ramas de yedra, y en lugar de sçetro traya vnas hortigas enla mano, y de esta manera se asentaua a juizio con los suyos y a departir con los estraños. Escandalizome el moço hazerlo, pero espantome la grauedad delos sabios de Greçia soffrirlo. (pp. 164-5)

In the *Libro áureo* Marcus proceeds to adduce the real *exempla* of Caligula, Tiberius, Patroclus, Tarquinius Superbus and Nero. Herodian adduces the real *exempla* of Nero and Domitian only. However, Capitolinus records that:

It is said that he foresaw that after his death Commodus would turn out as badly as he actually did, and expressed the wish that his son might die, lest, as he himself said he should become another Nero, Caligula, or Domitian. (27.10, p. 203)

Thus one of the speeches has some historical basis.

Most extant classical consolatory letters are composed on occasions of either bereavement or exile.¹⁸ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in contrast, consolatory letters are usual on many other occasions. Erasmus, in his treatise *De conscribendis epistolis*, lists some of them as exercises for schoolboys:

¹⁸The most famous exceptions would be Seneca's letter to his mother, Helvia, to console her on his own exile and Cicero's dialogue, *De Senectute*, which is a consolation on old age for Titus Pomponius Atticus, to whom it is dedicated. A fairly thorough search of the principal classical letter-collections -Cicero's, Seneca's and Pliny's- produced only consolations on bereavement and exile. It should be noted, however, that Cicero lists a number of other occasions when consolation was appropriate in the *Tusculanae Disputationes* (3.81).

bodily disease, poor or uncertain health, old age, an ill-omened marriage that it is useless to regret, the monastic order, the priesthood, or any other way of life to which the person committed to it is becoming weary, family misfortune, inferior social standing, irksome poverty, unpopularity, the loss of property through some mischance, services rendered to an ungrateful person, children who dishonour their parents by a wicked life, plague, war, and countless other things. (pp. 155-6).

A letter to la Torre who has suffered an unspecified misfortune (XV), Pulgar's letter to Enrique Enríquez who has lost a town to the enemy (XXXII) and Guevara's letter to Alonso de Bracamonte who is in hiding after a duel (II, 14) are evidence that such exercises could be put to good use after school.¹⁹ The letters to Torquatus (V) and Domicius (VI) who are in exile, to Antigonus who has suffered several misfortunes including both exile and bereavement (IX) and to Lavinia whose husband has died (VIII) resemble at first sight, therefore, classical consolatory letters. The four other consolations, in contrast, the letters to Mercurius, who has lost a ship at sea (III), to Piramus, who has suffered some unspecified misfortune (XIX), and to Catullus, who is sorrowing for the death of Verissimus (I), and Panucius' speech to Marcus (12), who is dying, seem unprecedented as classical letters.

The consolatory letter usually consists of an expression of sympathy followed by arguments against sorrow. This is the structure proposed by Antonio de Torquemada in his dialogue, the *Manual de escribientes*:

en estas cartas començamos por los encareçimjentos, mostrando la pena que sentimos, y alegando las rrazones que ay para ello, y luego consolamos y persuadimos con las más suficientes causas que se nos ofreçen, y con ellas concluimos la carta,²⁰

The structure however, is mostly determined by the sorrow of the correspondents. Some letters -such as Cicero's to C. Scribonius Curio (*Ad Familiares*, 2.2) or

¹⁹I have used the edition of Pulgar's *Letras* and the *Glosa a las coplas de Mingo Revulgo* made by J. Dominguez Bordona (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1958). And I have used the edition of the *Libro de las veinte cartas y quistiones* in *La obra literaria de Fernando de la Torre*, edited with an introduction by Maria Jesús Díez Garretas (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1983).

²⁰Antonio de Torquemada, *Manual de escribientes*, ed. Maria Josefa C. de Zamora and A. Zamora Vicente, *Anejos del Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, no. XXI, (Madrid: B.R.A.E., 1970), p. 231.

Gómez Manrique's to Pedro González de Mendoza (*Cancionero de Ixar*, item XXIX)- are mere sympathy notes, consisting of brief lament and praise of the deceased. In cases of acute anguish there may be many expressions of sympathy and many arguments against sorrow. In cases of slight distress no sympathy is expressed and consolation quickly gives way to admonition and exhortation. Moreover, whereas the learned may need only to be reminded of the chief reasons to be cheerful, others might ignore a whole battery of arguments against sorrow unless accompanied by evidence that the magnitude of their sorrow is fully appreciated. Alternatively, the learned may be made ashamed of their grief and the less well educated flattered out of sorrow. This is true of both classical and modern consolatory letters. The differences lie in the arguments advanced.

The principal classical arguments to console the bereaved are: that it is foolish to grieve over an event which is inevitable, long since foreseen and common to everyone, not least of all, the bereaved; that death is not an evil, but, on the contrary, perhaps a good; that, since grief is diminished by the passage of time, it is better to bring it to an end without delay; and that extreme and protracted grief is antisocial, affected, unnatural and useless. To these may be added, according to the specific circumstances, that in the (very) long term, there is little or no difference between dying young or dying old; that the deceased had enjoyed a long life which would have become unpleasant if it continued any longer; and that grief is unmanly or inconsistent with the bereaved's philosophical convictions.

Fifteenth and sixteenth century consolatory letters may include almost any of these arguments. The principal difference is that they include the Christian argument that death is certainly a good. Other arguments usually advanced are that death is either a benevolent corrective or a trial, that God will console the bereaved, and that suffering on earth ensures a place in Heaven.

The consolatory letter to Lavinia mixes classical and modern arguments. It begins with a series of arguments to demonstrate Marcus' sympathy. First he excuses himself for the lateness of the letter, denying that it is evidence of indifference:

Bien pienso que tu sospecha estaua muy reñida con mi descuido, por ver que a tus lastimosas llagas han acudido mis consolaciones muy perezosas. Pero acordandome de tu nobleza que no puede faltar, y tu de mi voluntad que siempre te deseo servir, soy cierto que tu cordura quitara las marañas de tu sospecha: porque si soy el postrero en te consolar, fui y soy el primero en tus dolores sentir, y aun no sere el postrero para te remediar. (p. 239)

Guevara uses the same excuse in a consolatory letter to Beltrán de la Cueva:

[...]si os paresce que escribo tarde esta letra consolatoria, me creáis que sentí muy temprano vuestra pérdida y lástima, (*Epístolas familiares*, II, 27, p. 322)

And Francisco Ortiz excuses himself in much the same way in a consolatory letter to Catalina de Orozco:

aunque envío tarde la respuesta en el papel, muchas cartas puedo decir que ha escrito á Vm. mi alma con los muchos deseos que nuestro Señor me ha dado de toda su consolacion verdadera, y perdurable honra y maciza prosperidad.²¹

Unlike most classical consolatory letters, however, Marcus dwells on his sympathy for Lavinia. First he asserts that he wished that he had never heard that Claudinus, her husband, was dead:

Puesto que la ignorancia sea mate de virtudes, y espuela para todos los vicios, tambien alas vezes el sobrado saber desassosiega los sabios y escandaliza los inocentes. Mejor nos hallamos los Latinos con la ignorancia delos vicios, que no los Griegos con el conocimiento delas virtudes: delo que ignoramos, ni tenemos pena por lo alcançar, ni dolor por lo perder. Digolo porque he sabido lo que no quisiera saber, y es, que son acabados los trabajos de Claudino, tu marido, y comiençan agora los de Lavinia, su muger. (pp. 239-40)

Next he explains why, although he knew of Claudinus' death before her, he did not tell her:

²¹ Francisco Ortiz, *Epístolas familiares*, in *Epistolario español. Colección de cartas de españoles ilustres antiguos y modernos*, ed. Eugenio de Ochoa, (Madrid: Atlas, 1945), no. xii, p. 278. All page references are to this edition.

Dias auia que yo lo sabia, y no lo quise descobrir, porque era crueldad ala que estaua lastimada con absençia de tanto tiempo, por su mano fuese muerta conla muerte de tan deseado marido, y aun porque no era razon de quien yo resçebi tan buenas obras, de mi resçibiese tan malas nuevas. (p. 240)

Finally he notes that her sorrow doubles his own:

Agora que ya se que lo sabes, tengo la pena doblada: hasta aqui sentia sola su muerte, mas agora siento su muerte y mi soledad y tu desconsuelo. (*ibid*).

The same argument is advanced by Guevara in his letter to Beltran de la Cueva:

A mi me pesa de todo coraçon enuiaros a dar el pésame de la muerte desta señora, porque veo lo que vuestro coraçon siente, lo que la señora duquesa llora, lo que el marqués su marido hace, la lástima que a todos pone y lo mucho que muchos pierden. (p. 322)

Marcus' concentration on his own sorrow demonstrates what the authors of classical consolatory letters frequently claim; that they are so distraught that they themselves need consolation. It is a claim made three times in Cicero's *Epistolae ad Familiares*. Servius Sulpicius Rufus, in a letter (4.5) to console Cicero on the death of his daughter Tullia, comments:

Of course, any consolation of this kind is depressing, and even unpleasantly embarrassing, because the relatives and friends, upon whom lies the duty of tendering it, are themselves a like burden of sorrow, and cannot attempt the task without the shedding of many a tear, so that one would imagine that they themselves need others to console them.²²

In a letter to T. Titius Cicero notes: "there is nobody in the world less fitted to offer you consolation, since your tribulations have caused me such sorrow that I am myself in need of consolation." (5.16, p. 391) And in a letter to T. Fadius he makes the same claim: "I, who am anxious to console you, am myself in need of consolation (for it is long since I resented anything more bitterly than your own

²²Cicero, *Epistolae ad Familiares*, trans. W. Glynn Williams, (London: Heinemann, Loeb series, 1958), vol. II, p. 269. All quotations are from this translation.

misfortune)." (5.18, p. 401)²³ Marco, demonstrates that he too is in need of consolation by stressing his own sorrow for the death of Claudino.

Marcus proceeds to advance six classical consolatory arguments. The first is that one should not react to the inevitable with extreme grief:

Razon tienes de llorar, no por el que esta con los dioses descansando, sino por nosotros miseros que quedamos en poder de tantos malos penando. O Labinia, muchas vezes entre mi me pongo a pensar qual llorar primero, los malos que bien o los buenos que mueren: porque tanto lastima el mal que se halla, como el bien que se pierde. Pena es muy grande de ver morir a los inocentes, y por cierto, no es menor pena ver vivir a los maliciosos, mas dello que necesario han de venir, quando viniere, dello no nos auemos de escandalizar.

Much the same argument is advanced by Seneca in his letter *Ad Polybium*:

We cannot go on blaming Fate much longer, change it we cannot. It stands harsh and inexorable; no one can move it by reproaches, no one by tears, no one by his cause; it never lets anyone off nor shows mercy. Accordingly let us refrain from tears, that profit nothing.²⁴

The second of Marcus' consolatory arguments is that the good are rewarded with eternal life:

²³It is perhaps worth noting that Gómez Manrique, uses this claim as an excuse for the lateness of his letter to Pedro González de Mendoza on the death of his brother, Íñigo López, the Marqués de Santillana:

Sy despues de la muerte del muy virtuoso Señor padre vuestro, mi Señor y mi tío, digno de eterna memoria, muy reverendo Señor, yo he dexado de escribir a vuestra reuerencia, segun se suele acostumbrar en los semblantes casos de dolor entre los que se aman, bien puede creer la merced vuestra non auer sido por ynadvertencia nin por mengua de amor quedado, mas ciertamente porque vuestro sentimiento senti, y el vuestro dolor tanto me dolio, que mas para ser consolado que para consolar me falle dispuesto

Cancionero de Juan Fernández de Ixar, ed. José Maria Azaceta, (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1956), vol. II, no. xxix, p. 462.

²⁴Seneca, *Consolatione ad Polybium*, in *Moral Essays*, trans. John W. Basore, (London: William Heinemann, Loeb series, 1932), vol. II, p. 365. All citations of this and the consolatory letters *Ad Marciam* and *Ad Helviam* are from this translation.

Dime Labinia, y agora sabes que son de tan buena conuersaçion los dioses a donde imos, y de tan mala los hombres con quien conuersamos? que assi como los malos nasçen para morir, assi los buenos mueren para biuir, porque el bueno siempre biue moriendo, y el malo siempre muere biuiendo. Pues los dioses le lleuaron para si, no es mucho que le quitasen a ti. (*ibid*).

This argument is, to a certain extent, modern: certainty that there is eternal life after death and that the good are rewarded with it are Christian notions. However, the possibility of life after death for the good is an argument frequently advanced in classical consolatory letters. Cicero in his letter to T. Titius argues that whether or not there is life afterwards, death cannot be an evil:

I have frequently read and heard, that there is no evil in death, and if there be any sensation left after death it should be rather regarded as deathlessness than death, while if all sensation be lost, what is not felt cannot properly be deemed misery at all. (p. 393)

Seneca concludes a letter to Lucilius (63) in this way:

Perhaps too, if only what the philosophers say is true, and there is some haven for us, he whom we suppose to have perished has only been sent on before.²⁵

Plutarch, in the consolatory letter to Appollonius (107.d-109.d), examines the possibility that there is life after death. And in the consolatory letter to his wife (611.e), he avers that the soul is a bird freed at death.

Marcus' third consolation is that the deceased is happier that way:

Yo soy çierto que Claudino, tu marido querido, y mi fiel amigo, viendo lo que tiene y acordandose delo que escapo, quiere mas lo de alla que tornar contigo aca. (*ibid*).

The argument that death may be preferable to life is a consolation to be found on several occasions in the *Epistolae ad familiares*, that is in letters written in the turbulent period at the end of the republic. Servius Sulpicius Rufus puts this argument to Cicero in a series of rhetorical questions:

²⁵ *Seneca's Letters to Lucilius*, trans. E. Phillips Barker, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), vol. I, p. 204. All citations from this collection are from this translation.

How many times must you yourself have reflected -and the thought has often occurred to me- that in these times theirs is not the most cruel fate who have been permitted painlessly to make the change from life to death? What again was there at this time to offer her any strong inducement to live? What things seen, what hope of things not seen? What solace for her soul? That she might spend her days as the consort of some young man of high rank? (4.5, p. 271)

Cicero advances the same argument in his letter to T. Titius:

this I can yet confidently affirm, that such is the chaos, the plotting, and the danger overhanging the state, that the man who has left it all behind him cannot possibly, in my opinion, have misjudged the situation [...] I have not heard of the death of a single young man or boy in the course of this year of gloom and pestilence, but that he seemed to me to have been rescued by the immortal gods from all these miseries and most merciless conditions of life. (5.16, p. 393)

Seneca in his letter to Marcia describes numerous unpleasant experiences that would have befallen her son, had he lived, to support the contention that "those who are treated most kindly by nature are those whom she removes early to a place of safety" (22.3, p. 79).²⁶

Marcus' fourth consolation is that Lavinia's separation from her husband is only temporary:

Por cierto, el remedio delas biudas esta no en pensar [en] la ccompañia passada, ni pensar enla soledad presente, sino pensar enel descanso que espera aduenidero. Si hasta aqui penauas esperandole en tu casa, gozate agora que el te espera enla suya: porque mejor seras tractada tu entre los dioses, que no el aca entre los hombres. (pp. 240-1)

In his letter to Marcia, Seneca argues that "the dead are merely absent [...] we have sent them ahead and shall soon follow." (19.1, p. 65). And in his letter to Marullus enclosed with another to Lucilius he argues:

²⁶See also the praise of death in this letter (20.1-5).

the complaints that spring from a sense of loss are foolish where the difference between the lost and the loser is so small. The fact that we're following our lost one should make us the more resigned [...] he whom you fancy lost for ever, has only been sent on before. (99.6-7, pp. 175-6)

This is also a modern argument. It is advanced by Juan de Avila in a letter to a lady whose husband has died:

si mucho siente su ausencia, consuéllese; que presto le irá a ver: pues nuestros dias tan cortos son, y tan poca ventaja nos llevamos en el morir, entiendo que el Señor se lo llevó porque estaba bien aparejado, y á Vm. dejó para que bien se aparejarse.²⁷

Avila advances much the same argument in a letter to a friend whose wife and son have died:

E ordenemos nuestra vida, y pensemos en nuestra muerte, que no tardará mucho de venir. E así vivamos, que cuando acabemos la jornada seamos hallados dignos de gozar lo que esta madre y hijo gozan allí, é nos verémos y conocerémos, no con temor de perderlos como acá, mas seguros de compañía eterna; [...] Allí nos esperan nuestros dos difuntos, y de allí nos llaman. (p. 440a)

Marcus' fifth consolation is that Lavinia is not the only person with cause to grieve:

Y no consiento hagas tanto sentimiento que parezca auerle tu sola perdido: que pues todos le gozamos en la vida, todos tenemos obligacion de llorar su muerte. Los coraçones lastimados, entre todos los dolores el mayor dolor es ver que otros se alegran de sus dolores, y porel contrario, el mayor aliuio en los graues toques dela fortuna es ver que otros sienten sus trabajos. Todo lo que mi amigo llora por mi con sus ojos y todo lo que siente de mis lastimas, cargandolo sobre sus fuerças, lo descarga de mis entrañas. (p. 241)

It is a proverb frequently cited in consolatory letters that a trouble shared is a trouble halved. The argument is advanced by Seneca in his letter to Polybius:

²⁷Juan de Avila, *Epistolario espiritual*, in *Epistolario español. Colección de cartas de españoles ilustres antiguos y modernos*, ed. Eugenio de Ochoa, BAE vol. XIII (Madrid: Atlas, 1945), p. 428a. All page references are to this edition.

[...] to share one's grief with many is in itself a kind of consolation; because, if it is distributed among many, the part that is left behind with you must be small. (12.2, p. 391)

In the prologue to the *Tragedia de la insigne reina doña Isabel*, Don Pedro de Portugal, explaining why he compares his own grief to that of others, avers, "Ca consuelo es a los miseros, compañeros aver de sua penas." (p. 308). And Erasmus, in the treatise *De conscribendis epistolis*, argues that evidence of sympathy is effective in consolatory letters because "companionship alleviates misery" (p. 151).

Marcus' sixth consolation is that where no remedy is available it is best to acquiesce to the situation:

A ley de bueno te iuro, Labinia, que si tu remedio estuuiese en mi mano como tu dolor esta en mi coraçon, ni a mi lastimaria tu lastimoso lloro, ni a ti la triste soledad del marido: pero pues tu remedio y mi deseo no se pueden complir, porque conlos muertos, ni enlos muertos no tenemos poder, pongamoslo en mano delos dioses, los quales saben mejor repartir que nosotros escoger. (pp. 241-2)

This argument is modern. Guevara advances it in a consolatory letter to a certain "comendador Angulo":

Las cosas que los hombres hacen podemoslas afean, podemoslas contradecir, y aun podemoslas resistir; mas lo que Dios manda hase de cumplir, y todo lo que él quiere hemos de aprobar, porque es imposible mande cosa injusta aquel que es suma justicia. (*Epístolas familiares*, I, 61, p. 415)

Much the same argument is also advanced by Avila in a letter to a nun:

en el medio de la pena digamos lo que el Señor dijo en medio de su angustia: Padre, no como yo quiero, mas como tú quieres sea hecho; para que seamos hijos de obediencia, á los quales solos está prometida la corona del cielo. (p. 341a)

After another expression of sympathy and an offer of help, Marcus admonishes Lavinia against extreme and protracted grief.

Y porque enlos graues conflictos a do la maña se oluida, el iuyzio se altera y la razon se retira, tanta neçessidad ay de buen consejo como de mediano remedio. Claudino ya muerto fue mio, y yo Marcus biuo soy tuyo: pues como por tu meresçimiento me puedes mandar lo que quisieres, assi yo porel amor que te tengo, te puedo rogar lo que te conuiene. Mucho te ruego esquiues las

estremidades delas biudas Romanas, porque allende que en todo extremo aya viçio, los tales fatigan a si, enojan alos dioses, pierden alos suyos, y no aprouechan alos muertos, y aun ponen sospecha alos maliçiosos. (pp. 242-3)

Such admonitions are usual in both classical and modern consolatory letters. In classical letters women are considered especially prone to extreme grief. Seneca admonishes Marcia to curb her grief precisely because she is a woman:

you women especially must observe moderation, you who are immoderate in your grief, and against your many sorrows the power of the human breast must be arrayed. (11.1, p. 33)

In his letter to his wife Plutarch praises her for moderating her grief, suggesting that it is unusual for women (608.f-609.c). Most of the arguments against extreme sorrow summarized by Marcus are usual in classical letters. In his letter to Marcia (3.3-4, p. 15), Seneca notes that extreme grief exhausts the bereaved, alienates him or her from others and is of no use to the deceased. The argument that it irritates the gods, however, seems to be modern. Avila advances this argument in a letter to console an abbess on the death of her brother:

Licencia tiene Vm. para sentir este golpe, mas no para se desmayar; pues así como lo primero es cosa cristiana y es fruto de amor, así lo segundo es cosa contra la obediencia que á nuestro Señor se debe en todo lo que con nosotros hace, y contra la confianza que él manda tener en medio de los trabajos [...] con el dolor se purgan los pecados, y despertaremos de nuestra tibieza, y de hecho nos despediremos de esta vida, y cobraremos nuevos deseos de la otra; y pues para estos intentos lo envia nuestro Señor, no le seamos pesados en hacerle ofensa con lo que el envia, para que paguemos lo que habemos hecho, y ganemos en lo de adelante; y pongase tasa en la tristeza, pues tenemos Señor á quien obedecer en el gozar y llorar; (p. 340b-1a).

To support the admonition Marcus adduces the real *exemplum* of Fulvia, widow of Marcus Marcellus. The use of real *exempla* in support of admonitions to control grief is frequent in classical consolatory letters. In his letter to Marcia (2.3-3.2), Seneca adduces Octavia and Livia, the first as a bad, the second as a good real *exemplum* of mourning. And in his letter to Polybius (17.4-6), he cites Caligula as a real *exemplum* of uncontrolled grief.

Outside the context of the *Libro áureo* there would be nothing very remarkable about the letter to Lavinia. It is a mixture of classical and modern consolations wholly comparable to those in Pere Torroella's consolatory letter to

Mosen Martí d'Ança's beloved, Pulgar's to Pedro González de Mendoza (XV) or Ortiz's to Catalina de Orozco (XII).²⁸ In context, however, the mixture suggests either that Marcus is almost Christian or that the letter is pseudepigraphy. And such is the care with which classical and modern consolations are mixed that it is impossible, taking this letter alone as evidence, to reach a firm conclusion.

The thirteenth letter, to the Roman prostitutes, is a transformation of misogynist argumentation which exhibits several functions. In Chapter One it was provisionally classified as expository. At issue, ostensibly, is a general question posed by the women, "de que y para que, adonde y quando, [por] quien y como se hizieron las primeras mugeres" (p. 282), and the principal structure of the letter seems to consist of citation of an Egyptian and a Greek theory about the origin of womankind and arguments advanced in their support adduced by Marco. It is obvious, however, that the real function of the thesis is to vituperate the correspondents, not to entertain them with genealogical folklore. This and the denunciation of them as clandestine prostitutes are the principal functions of the letter. Yet the thesis is also a travesty of certain feminist arguments. And there are two extensive digressions. One refutes a feminist argument. The other consists of two admonitions addressed to unknown readers, the first to men, the second to women. The five functions, vituperation and denunciation of the prostitutes, ridicule and refutation of feminist arguments, and the admonition of other readers, seem irrelevant to or even at odds with each other. Yet they are produced by a single complex transformation of misogynist argumentation, a reorganisation which, as a letter addressed to some prostitutes who have defamed Marco, parodies parodies of misogynist discourse written by lovers for their beloved, a parody which promotes a sexual ethic different from misogyny and opposed to feminism or courtly love.

Redondo suggests that the letter is misogynist.²⁹ However, many quite

²⁸Torroella's letter is included in *The Works of Pere Torroella: A Catalan Writer of the Fifteenth Century*, edited with an introduction by Pedro Bach y Rita (New York: Instituto de la España, 1930), pp. 325-9.

²⁹*Guevara et l'Espagne de son temps*, p. 484

different kinds of Castilian works of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries include misogynist discourse, arguments or assertions that women are vicious or ugly or otherwise unpleasant. Part Two of *Arcipreste de Talavera* and *lo Spiritu's* long speech in *Il Corbaccio* and the misogynist discourse included in the earlier Latin treatises from which Alfonso Martínez de Toledo and Boccaccio take much of their material, such as Andreas Capellanus' *De amore*, Marbod of Rennes's *De meretrice* and Alexander Neckam's *De vita monachorum*, exhibit an ethical didactic function. The implied reader is masculine and the arguments that women are vicious are subordinate to another, to an exhortation to be chaste. Several works in Castilian which take issue with and refute arguments that women are vicious were written around 1450: Alvaro de Luna's *Libro de las claras e virtuosas mugeres*, Diego de Valera's *Tratado en defenssa de virtuossas mugeres* and Juan Rodríguez del Padrón's *Triunfo de las donas*.³⁰ From this moment, it seems, misogynist discourse is included in numerous Castilian works whose functions are quite different from the earlier -but still, to some extent, proper- one of regulating men's behaviour.³¹ Poems consisting of descriptions of a woman as hideous, parodies of *cancionero* lyrics describing the beloved as of ideal beauty or, when addressed to the woman described, lampoons, are transformations of an argument against concupiscence on the grounds of women's ugliness.³² Misogynist and feminist arguments are brought together in fictitious disputes in *Grisel y Mirabella*, the *Celestina* and Cristóbal de Castillejo's *Diálogo de mugeres*. They

³⁰Two others, since lost but, to judge from the titles, of the same kind are Andrés or Antón Delgadillo's *Libro de las mugeres* and Alonso de Cartagena's *Libro de las mugeres ilustres*. The latter, like Valera's and Rodríguez del Padrón's works, was dedicated to Maria of Aragon, Juan II's first wife, who died in 1446.

³¹Works in Catalan, Italian and French which include misogynist discourse but which are not ethical didactic appear many years before this. Castilian tardiness seems likely to be a consequence of the dearth of misogynist discourse in the language before 1438, the date when *Arcipreste de Talvera* was completed. In his article "La 'religión de amor' y el antifeminismo en las letras castellanas del siglo XV" (*HR*, 49 (1981), pp. 65-86), E. Michael Gerli argues that Castilian misogyny "surgió en buena parte como reacción a la idealización de la mujer y los excesos del sincretismo del erotismo y la religión." (p. 85)

³²There are several of these poems in the *Cancionero de obras de burlas provocantes a risa* and the relationship between them and a passage of *Arcipreste de Talavera* is succinctly noted by Frank Domínguez in the introduction to his edition (Valencia: Albatross, 1978, pp. 16-7).

are also brought together in a poem by fray Iñigo de Mendoza which consists of twelve *coplas* "en vituperio delas malas hembras" and twelve more "en loor delas buenas mugeres" and whose function is to encourage the implied reader, a woman, to be virtuous. Other misogynist discourse which implies a female reader are parodies written by lovers for their beloved. Pere Torroella's notorious *Coplas* are a parody of misogynist discourse and a eulogy, assertions that every woman except his beloved is vicious. Hernán Mexía's pastiche of the *Coplas* and Juan de Tapia's *Glosa* on them are also parodies of misogynist discourse. They are written, however, at the request of the beloved. The request for misogynist verse is made, presumably, with the intention that the lover should argue himself out of love. (Sempronio and Tefeo also argue that women are vicious, in futile attempts to persuade Calisto and Leriano not to be in love). And the parody fulfills the request without either suggesting that the lover is not in love or vituperating the beloved. Luis de Lucena's *Repetición de amores*, a commentary on the first stanza of Torroella's *Coplas*, is also written for his beloved. It is, I suspect, as much a satirical pastiche of ethical didactic prose as a parody of misogynist discourse, exaggerating the stolid, exhaustive treatment of passion usual in such prose by organising the material as a *repetitio*, a long oration on a scholarly question delivered by certain academics annually and by candidates for the degree of *licenciado*.³³ Marcus' letter is a parody of these parodies, misogynist discourse organized to do exactly what the others so carefully avoid, to vituperate the women for whom it is written.

The thesis on the origin of womankind is a travesty of feminist arguments deduced from the second chapter of *Genesis*. Two fake theories of the origin of the first women replace the Biblical myth. And the minor premisses of misogynist arguments, which are advanced in support of the two theories, replace the minor

³³The function of the *Repetición de amores* is a matter of doubt. Barbara Matulka, in her article "An Anti-Feminist Treatise of Fifteenth-Century Spain: Lucena's *Repetición de amores*", (*Romanic Review* XXII (1931), pp. 99-116), and Jacob Ornstein, in the introduction to his edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), accept it as quite serious misogynist discourse. In a footnote to *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972, p. 296), Stephen Gilman expresses the opinion that it is a parody of a *repetitio*, a possibility also entertained by B. Russell Thompson in his note "Another Source for Lucena's *Repetición de amores*" (*HR* 45 (1977), pp. 337-45). All page references to the *Repetición de amores* are to Ornstein's edition.

premisses of feminist arguments deduced from the myth. The travesty inverts the feminist arguments: the fake theories are a proposition whereas the Biblical myth is the authority understood -rather than cited- as proof of the minor premisses of the feminist arguments.

Noting that "segun la diuersidad delas naçiones que ay enel mundo, es la diuersidad delas opiniones que hallo en este caso" (p. 282), Marcus selects two. An Egyptian theory is

que quando el rio Nilo sale de madre y riega su tierra, que quedan muchas tierras hechas çenagales, y que sobreuiniendo el calor, se crien muchas sauandijas, y que alli entre ellas fueron halladas las primeras mugeres. (*ibid*).

And a Greek theory is

que enlos desiertos de Arabia el sol muestra mas la fuerça de su calor, y que enel principio apareşcio alli vna muger sola y vna aue Phenix sola, y que el aue fue criada del agua, y la muger del gran calor del sol y dela carcoma delos arboles de esta manera: que estando vn arbol muy carcomido sobreuino vn globo de fuego que le ençendio, y assi del fuego u delos poluos de aquella carcoma quemada fue la primera muger hecha. (pp. 285-6)

There is no need to scour classical or fifteenth and sixteenth century mythologies to decide that these are not genuine Egyptian and Greek theories. Marcus does not waste his erudition on these correspondents. He assumes that they are ignorant, falsifying the well-known legends of the Phoenix and of the anabiogenesis of flies in order to ensure that the theories are recognised as fake and, hence, that the arguments which follow exhibit a vituperative rather than demonstrative function.

Reminiscent of a number of passages of the Bible and also, perhaps, of the office for the dead, the two theories exactly contradict the features of the creation myth narrated in the Second Chapter of *Genesis* from which certain feminist arguments are deduced. Such are the first thirteen arguments advanced by Cardiana to prove "la excelencia de las donas sobre los onbres" in Rodríguez del

Padrón's *Triunfo de las donas*.³⁴ The first is that woman was the latest and, therefore, the noblest of God's creatures; the second, that she was created in Paradise, like the angels (whereas man was created outside, "en el canpo damasceno", like the animals); the third, that she was created from flesh not earth; the fourth, that she was created from the best part of man's body; the fifth, that she is more beautiful; the sixth, that she is cleaner; the seventh, that she was the latest and, therefore, the most perfect of God's creatures; the eighth, that she was the most pleasing of all things in Paradise (since Adam gave up all the others for her); the ninth, because mankind was not blessed by God until after her creation; the tenth, because she was not to blame for original sin (since she was not yet created when God forbade eating the fruit of the tree of knowledge); the eleventh, because the serpent mistook her for an angel; the twelfth, because she sinned in ignorance and after being deceived (whereas Adam sinned wittingly); and the thirteenth, because the original sin was Adam's (since she merely offered him the fruit). Some of the same arguments are advanced in the third *preámbulo* of Alvaro de Luna's *Libro de las claras e virtuosas mugeres*.³⁵ They are also summarized by Torroella in his retraction:

Aquel justo repartidor de las gracias formó Adam del vil [limo] de la tierra y Eva de la más nobl[e] parte del hombre; Adam en la vall [damascena], a Eua en el terrenal parayso; Adam rustiferoçe, peloso, a la naturaleza delos animales brutos parasciendo; a Eua, blanca, suaue, delicada e lisa, más angelica ydea que forma vmana representando. E pues de pasta apurada, en lugar más noble, y de forma más bella que del hombre fue la muger creada, de su más ser perfecto argumentar se puede.³⁶

The two theories posit that woman was created not in Paradise, but in the most unhealthy places on earth, not from refined flesh, but from slime or worm-eaten wood reduced to ashes, not from the highest, but from less than the

³⁴Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, *Triunfo de las donas y Cadira de onor*, in *Obras completas*, ed. César Hernández Alonso, (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1982), pp. 209-306. All page references to the *Triunfo* are to this edition.

³⁵Alvaro de Luna, *Libro de las claras e virtuosas mugeres*, ed. Manuel Castillo, (Valencia: Prometeo, n.d.), pp. 24-6. All page references are to this edition.

³⁶*Razonamiento de Pere Torroella en defension de las donas contra los maldizientes por satisfacci6n de unas coplas que en dezir mal de aquéllas compuso*, in *The Works of Pere Torroella*, pp. 297-8.

lowest forms of animal life, from the same material as flies or from the charred remains of worms, not in an extraordinary fashion and at a singular moment, but either as swarms of flies are whenever the Nile floods or as an accident which once happened on a rare and great occasion. They also suggest that she is a dirty hideous thing, not clean, beautiful, pale, soft, delicate and smooth.

To confirm that the two theories are true, Marcus argues that each origin is consistent with women's vices. To confirm the Egyptian theory he argues, first, that women are unruly:

Notad, señoras, que fue neçessario Nilo saliese de madre, para que nasçiese la primera muger enla tierra. Todas las criaturas son criadas enlas entrañas delas madres, sino la muger que se crio sin madre, y bien paresçe ser verdad porque sin madre nasçistes, sin regla biuis, y sin orden morireis. Por çierto, a muchos trabajos se ha de poner, y muchas maneras ha de buscar, y muchas vezes lo ha de pensar, y muchos socorros ha de tener, y muchos años la ha de esperar, y entre infinitas mugeres la ha de elegir, el que quiere a vna sola muger gouernar. Por fieros que sean los animales, al fin el leon tiene leonero, el toro se ençierra enel cosso, al caualllo domeña el freno, el anzuelo saca al pescado y el lobo suffre coyundas con yugo: sola la muger es vn animal indomito que iamas pierde el azedia por mandar y el brio por no ser mandada. Hizieron los dioses alos hombres tan hombres, y alas bestias tan bestias, y el juicio humano tan alto, y las fuerças tan fuertes, que no aya cosa que no que se le vaya por alta, ni se le escape por ligera, ni se le defienda por fuerte. Se hos dezir, señoras enamoradas, que a vosotras ni ay espuela que hos haga andar, ni sueltas hos pueden tener, ni freno enfrenar, ni anzuelo pescar, ni red caçar; y finalmente, ni ay ley que hos subiuizgue, ni verguença que hos enfrene, ni temor que hos espante, ni castigo que hos emiende. O, a quanta malauentura se pone el que a regiros y corregiros se obliga! porque si tomais vn siniestro no hos sacara del todo el mundo. Si de alguna cosa hos auisan, nunca la creeis; si hos dan consejo, nunca le tomais; si hos amenazan, luego hos quexais; si hos hiere alguno, luego hos derretis; si hos alagan, tomais soberuia; si hos regalan, teneis embidia; si dissimulan, hazeishos atreuidas; si hos castigan, tomaishos viboras; finalmente, iamas muger supo perdonar iniurias ni agradecer benefiços. (pp. 282-3)

Women's recalcitrance is a commonplace of misogynist argumentation. Chapter Seven of the Second Part of *Arcipreste de Talavera* is reserved for an argument that women are disobedient:

La muger ser desobediente dubda non es dello, por quanto si tú a la muger algo le dixeris o mandares, piensa que por el contrario lo ha todo de fazer.³⁷

Chapter Nine includes another, apparently deduced from a proverb, that women are impossible to control:

el ombre avieso, duro de enderesçar, e la muger mala muy fuerte por fuerça de castigar, e de los vicios estraña de quitar. Por donde manifestamente se muestran las mugeres que non es posible mudar de sus costumbres. (pp. 182-3)

Several arguments are retrieved from the commonplace in the *Repetición de amores*. Women's recalcitrance is such as to make one argument paradoxical:

si señorío tiene [la muger], no hay dios que puede con ella; que no hay cosa más irreverente a la qual quanto más castigares, más te querrá. Aunque a las vezes es mejor castigarlas con ris[a] que con azote, porque su malicia dellas es sobre toda malicia. (p. 78)

Lucena also compares women to animals, arguing, facetiously, that men should not fear that women may fall while riding since woman is "el animal más mal domado, bravo y escandaloso que sea." (p. 83) The argument that women are more recalcitrant than even the fiercest animals is reiterated further down:

no hay vípera más intollerable ni venino tan incurable. Aun los aspides, que es linage de sierpes, con alguna encantación blanda se mitigan, y los leones y tigres amansan su feridad. (p. 84)

Torrella also retrieves arguments from the commonplace that women are recalcitrant in the *Coplas* :

Si las quereys emendar
las aveys por enemigas,
.....
van a las cosas vedadas
desdeñan las sojudgadas,
y las peores escogen.

Sentiendo que son sujetas
y sin ningund poderio,
a fyn de auer señorío

³⁷ Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, *Arcipreste de Talavera o Corbacho*, ed. Michael Gerli, (Madrid: Cátedra, 1979), p. 175. All page references are to this edition.

tienen engañosas sectas,³⁸

And arguments are retrieved from the same commonplace in Mexía's *Coplas* and Tapia's *Glosa*.

Women's recalcitrance, however, is much more important in the letter than it is in misogynist discourse. Marcus dwells on the argument. He augments it by, for instance, specifying five different animals to compare to women. He reiterates it. The comparison of animals to women is also suggested by the argument that no instrument used to control the former is effective on the latter. He also combines it with other misogynist arguments, such as the one that a virtuous woman is very rare -as rare as the Phoenix according to Lucena (p. 82). Such insistence is unusual in misogynist discourse, as the brevity of the extracts cited suggests. The same treatment of the matter would be impossible in verse, but nothing in Torrella's, Mexía's or Tapia's poems indicates that recalcitrance is more important than other vices. It is merely one of many, as it is in the *Repetición de amores* and, even though an entire chapter is reserved for the argument, in *Arcipreste de Talavera*. The insistence on unruliness is not only unusual but also at cross purposes with the vituperative structure. Calling his correspondents unruly is not much of an insult and, judging from the crimes denounced towards the close of the letter, far from being ashamed of it, the prostitutes delight in their independence.

The insistence on unruliness as a feminine vice and also, therefore, on obedience to men as a virtue is evidence that this sexual ethic is different from misogyny and opposed to courtly love. The misogynist arguments cited assume the premiss that women are essentially recalcitrant. Marcus assumes, in contrast, that women can and ought to be obedient to men, a premiss impossible to reconcile with courtly lovers' servitude.

After a digression Marcus advances another argument in support of the Egyptian theory:

³⁸ *Cancionero de Juan Fernández de Ixar*, ed. José María Azaceta, (Madrid: CSIC, 1956), vol. II, pp. 470-1. All page references to the *Coplas* are to this edition.

Bien paresçe, señoras Romanas, que hos criastes en pişinas segun arriba dezian los Eypçios. Las pişinas ni tienen agua clara que beuer, ni fructas que coger, ni pesçes que pescar, ni playa que nauegar. Quiero dezir, que vosotras enla vida sois suzias, enlas personas infames, enlas aduersidades flacas, enlas prosperidades incautas, enlas palabras falsas, enlas promesas dubias, en aborrescer teneis desorden, en amar extremo, enel dar sois auaras, enel tomar descomedidas; y finalmente digo que sois vnos tremedales donde los sabios hallan peligro y los simples atolladero: en vosotras los cuerdos tienen enlodadas las famas, y los simples atolladas las vidas. (p. 285)

All or most of these vices are the same or similar to those usually attributed to women in misogynist discourse. (The possible exception is women's lack of foresight in times of prosperity). Chapter Five of the Second Part of *Arcipreste de Talavera* is reserved for an argument that women are inconstant, that is, lacking in fortitude, Chapter Ten for another that that they lie and Chapters One and Three for arguments that they are mean and greedy. And assertions that women are dirty, careless of their reputation, perfidious, intemperate and imprudent are scattered throughout the Second Part, the *Repetición de amores*, and Torroella's *Coplas* and other misogynist verse. However, the accumulation -asyndetic congeries- of women's vices is itself a commonplace of misogynist discourse. Misogynist verse consists of little else. The argument of Chapter Eighteen of the first part of *Arcipreste de Talavera* is resumed by an accumulation of vices:

la muger que mal usa e mala es, non solamente avariçiosa es fallada, mas aún envidiosa, maldiziente, ladrona, golosa, en sus dichos non constante, cuchillo de dos tajos, inobediente, contraria de lo que le mandan e viedan, superviosa, vanagloriosa, mentirosa, amadora de vino la que lo una vez gusta, parlera, de secretos descubridera, luxuriosa, raíz de todo mal e a todos males fazer mucho aparejada, contra el varón firme amor non teniente. (p. 109)

In the first *Auto* of the *Celestina*, there is a similar passage in a speech by Sempronio, a misogynist argument to dissuade his master from falling in love with Melibea:

¿quién te contaría sus mentiras, sus trafagos, sus cambios, su liuiandad, sus lagrimillas, sus altercaciones, sus osadías? Que todo lo que piensan, osan sin deliberar. ¿Sus disimulaciones, su lengua, su engaño, su olvido, su desamor, su ingratitude, su inconstancia, su testimoniar, su negar, su revolver. su presunción, su vanagloria, su abatimiento, su locura, su desdén, su soberbia, su sujeción, su

parlería, su golosina, su lujuria y suciedad, su miedo, su atrevimiento, sus hechicerías, sus embaimientos, sus escarnios, su deslenguamiento, su desvergüenza, su alcahuetería?³⁹

All three passages seem to be a modification of an older misogynist commonplace, asyndetic congeries of pejorative definitions of women.⁴⁰

To confirm that the Greek opinion is true Marcus argues:

Aunque yo soy philosopho Romano, no dire yo que dixo mal en esta opinion el philosopho Griego, porque çierto, señoras enamoradas, enlas lenguas sois de fuego y enlas condiçiones de carcoma. Segun la diuersidad delos animales, assi naturaleza en diuersas partes del cuerpo les puso las fuerças: al aguila enel pico, al olicornio enel cuerno, ala serpiente enla cola, al toro enla cabeça, al osso enlos braços, al caualllo enlos pechos, al perro enlos dientes, al puerco enlos colmillos, ala paloma enlas alas, y alas mugeres enlas lenguas. Por çierto, no es tan alto el buelo dela paloma como la fantasia de vuestra locura; no araña tanto el gato conlas vñas como vosotras arañais alos nesçios con importunidades; no lastima tanto el iualin al perro que le sigue, como vosotras al triste enamorado que hos sirue; no corre tanto peligro la vida del que toma el toro entre los cuernos, como la fama del triste que cae en vuestras manos; y finalmente, no tiene tanta ponçoña vna serpiente enla cola, como vosotras enla lengua. (p. 286)

Besides the comparison of women to animals Marcus combines arguments retrieved from two different commonplaces of misogynist argumentation. One is that women are slanderers, the other that they are cruel to their lovers. Chapter Two of the the Second Part of *Arcipreste de Talavera* is an argument that "la muger ser murmurante e detractadora, regla general es dello". Lucena also argues that women's conversation is venomous (pp. 76-7). Women's cruelty to their lovers is treated at length in misogynist verse. And it is another argument advanced by Sempronio to dissuade Calisto from loving Melibea:

³⁹ Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina*, ed. Dorothy S. Severin, intro. Stephen Gilman (Madrid: Alianza, 1979), p. 52.

⁴⁰ It is a commonplace ultimately derived, as Ornstein notes (p. 29), from an interlocution in the *Altercatio Hadriani Augusti et Secundi Philosophi*, a text extracted from a Greek biography of the Neo-Pythagorean and included in a variety of medieval works. In his note "Mulier est hominis confusio" (*MLN* XXV (1920), pp. 479-82), Carleton Brown shows that the answer to the question "Quid est mulier?" functioned as a misogynist commonplace from as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century.

A los que meten por los agujeros denuestan en la calle; convidan, despiden, llaman, niegan, señalan amor, pronuncian enemiga, ensañanse presto, apacíguanse luego; quieren que adivinen lo que quieren. ¡Oh, qué plaga, oh, qué enojo, oh, qué hastío es conferir con ellas más de aquel breve tiempo que aparejadas son a deleite! (p. 53)

The inversion of feminist arguments in the travesty concentrates attention on deductions from the Biblical myth which are not stated and which, on inspection, often prove objectionable, if not downright false.⁴¹ Since those deductions are already so feeble as not to admit exaggeration, even less cogent inductive arguments are advanced in support of the two theories. Often the analogy is between the theory and a metaphor for the vice, not the vice itself. This is the relation of filthy water to filthy habits and of flames to "lenguas de fuego". The relationship between the Nile bursting its banks, the anabiogenesis of the first women and the unruliness of all of them is purely figurative. The only connection between the three *res* is the *verbum*, and the transition from one meaning of a homonym to another is *traductio*. At worst the argument is truly specious: there are no analogies between the three other properties of the floodwater of the Nile (lack of fruit, of fish and of coasts) and the eight or nine other vices listed as if there were (infamy, lack of fortitude and of foresight, mendacity, perfidy, intemperance, meanness and greed).

To object that the thesis could be a fake classical version of certain misogynist arguments -rather than a travesty of the feminist arguments retrieved, presumably, to refute them- would be erroneous. The only misogynist arguments which cite *Genesis* are deduced from the Fall, not Creation. They are that women are more evil or more susceptible to evil and, hence, more vicious than men because Eve

⁴¹ However, no other writer of the period, so far as I know, satirizes or brings objections to them. Critics occasionally denounce them, but also indicate that the fallacies would not have been regarded as such at the time. Commenting, in the introduction to his edition of Rodríguez del Padrón's *Obras completas*, on all the arguments advanced by Cardiana in the *Triunfo de las donas*, Hernández Alonso asserts that "algunos de ellos son endebles sofismos, no pocos son reversibles y otros hacen sonreír a un lector actual." (p. 102)

was more to blame for original sin than Adam.⁴² Moreover, since these arguments are not advanced in misogynist discourse written before 1450, such as the Second Part of *Arcipreste de Talavera* and *lo Spiritu's* speeches in *Il Corbaccio*, they may be refutations of feminist rather than traditional misogynist arguments. *Genesis* is first admitted as an authority on the question by Luna, Valera and Rodríguez del Padrón.⁴³

The parody of misogynist discourse written for the beloved consists of two transformations: Marcus' correspondents are vituperated and denounced as clandestine prostitutes instead of praised, explicitly or implicitly, as virtuous women, and the refutation and admonitions are serious instead of playful.

Parodies of misogynist discourse written for the beloved include, near or at the end, a statement explicitly excepting either the beloved or all virtuous women (implicitly, therefore, including her) from the argument.⁴⁴ Lucena's exceptive statement is combined with an argument that vituperation of vicious women is equivalent to praise of the others:

No quiera Dios, señora, que esto por todas lo diga, ca muchas leemos buenas y bien hoy en día otras, las quales con gran reverencia son de nombrar. Dexemos cristianas en las quales muchas vírgines, muchas sanctas, muchas nobles y castas casadas uvo y hay. Mas aun en las gentiles fueron algunas tan buenas que aun hoy vive su fama. y por tanto, no pudiendo comprehender la virtud de tantas nobles mugeres, quise vituperar a las malas, creyendo que dello serían servidas las buenas, como aquel que para conocer un color lo coteja con otro; porque de otra manera, quedando desloada la malicia de las semejantes, no aurie

⁴²These are arguments advanced, for instance, by Sempronio in the *Celestina* (p. 52) and by Torroella in *Grisel y Mirabella* in *The Novels of Juan de Flores and Their European Diffusion. A Study in Comparative Literature*, ed. Barbara Matulka, (New York: New York University Press, 1931) pp. 353-4. All page references to *Grisel y Mirabella* are to this edition.

⁴³The authors of Latin ethical didactic treatises which include misogynist discourse are, like Martínez de Toledo, churchmen whose theology was, presumably, rather more sophisticated than that of these three feminists.

⁴⁴It ought to be noted, however, that in *Arcipreste de Talavera*, which is evidently not written for a woman, arguments that women are vicious are sometimes qualified (to become arguments that certain vices are common among vicious women). The work also includes several statements excepting women from the argument (eg, p. 144) and, at the end, a petition for forgiveness addressed to virtuous women in case the work offends them, a petition regarded by some critics as an addition made by another.

diferencia entre la maldad dellas y la loable virtud de las buenas.
(p. 86)

In the last stanza of the *Coplas* Torroella excepts only his beloved from the argument, thus transforming the poem into a eulogy:

Entre las otras soys vos,
dama de aquesta mi vida,
del traste comun salida,
vna en el mundo de dos;
vos soys la que desfaseys
lo que contienen mis versos,
vos la que merescays
renombre e loor cobreys
entre las otras diuersas. (p. 472)

Until the exceptive statement, however, in the *Coplas*, Mexía's pastiche and Tapia's *Glosa* and also in the *Repetición de amores*, there is no sign that the arguments that women are vicious are to be qualified. With breathtaking temerity the poets defer the expected exceptive statement until the end, making it the climax of each poem and thus ensuring that it carries conviction.

Marcus explicitly excepts only women other than his correspondents from the argument. Vituperation of the entire sex in order to take revenge on eight prostitutes would be an ineffective and probably counter-productive strategy to pursue, dissipating the impact of the insults and exciting the antipathy of other women and, above all, enabling both his correspondents and other readers to dismiss the letter as unreasonable and unjustified, motivated by passion, not righteous indignation. Marcus concentrates the insults on his correspondents and checks antipathy, which indicates control over the material and, therefore, over himself.

He all but makes his correspondents the subject of the thesis. Womankind soon becomes confused with the correspondents as second displace third person plural pronouns and verb endings in the first argument advanced in support of the Egyptian theory, a confusion rendered less and less ambiguous by the reiteration, with more irony on each successive occasion, of the vocative "señoras".

There are four statements excepting other women from the arguments in the letter. But Marcus excepts only other women from the argument instead of, either explicitly or implicitly, his correspondents. In the first, made immediately before

beginning the thesis, he isolates his correspondents from other women, checking antipathy by arguing that sympathy for the prostitutes would be a sign of secret vice. It is an *argumentum ad verecundiam*: to ignore it would be shameful for any woman concerned for her reputation, whether or not she was truly virtuous. Marcus dwells on it, adducing parables to support the proposition:

Y pues ninguno no fue para hazer la pregunta, protesto que a ninguno, sino a vosotras las enamoradas, embio la respuesta. Y si alguna señora honesta quisiere por vosotras tomar la demanda, es señal que del officio que vosotras traeis hos tiene embidia. Por çierto, la señora que mostrare mucho enojo de vuestra pena en publico, dende aqui la condemno que tiene alguna culpa en secreto. El que esta en la talanquera no teme el bramido del toro, y el que esta en el omenaje no se espanta de artilleria. Quiero dezir que la muger de buena vida no teme el hombre de mala lengua. Las buenas matronas me tened por perpetuo sieruo, y las malas por vuestro capital enemigo. (p. 282)

The next two exceptive statements are much briefer and function not to check antipathy but to emphasize that the prostitutes are being insulted and thus to draw attention to the parody. The divisive strategy is pursued a second time, however, when Marcus argues, just before denouncing his correspondents as clandestine prostitutes, that virtuous women are in great danger in contact with disreputable women:

Gran peligro tienen las mugeres cuerdas en la vezindad de las locas, gran peligro tienen las vergonçosas con las desuergonçadas, gran peligro tienen las retraidas con las atreuidas, gran peligro tienen las castas con las adúlteras, gran peligro tienen las honradas con las infames, porque no ay muger infame que no piense que todas son infames, desee que sean infames, procure que sean infames, diga que son infames, y al fin, por encobrir su infamia, a todas las buenas infama. (p. 288)

After the denunciation Marcus makes a statement excepting not only virtuous but also, by implication, even other vicious women from the argument:

He querido señalar alas que me señalastes, lastimar alas que me lastimastes, perseguir alas que me perseguistes, infamar alas que me infamastes: alas otras perdonalas mi pluma, porque ellas me perdonaron en la fama. (p. 289)

And just before the end of the letter, in the place reserved for the exceptive statement in verse parodies of misogynist discourse, Marcus hurls their appeal to his good humour back in their faces, sarcastically making the insults conditional

on the defamatory intention of the "farsa":

Acabo y pido a los dioses vea de vosotras lo que vosotras deseais ver de mi; y pues sois enamoradas, el consejo que me embiastes con Fuluio hos torno a embiar conel mismo, y es, que si hezistes de burla de farsa, tomeis de burla la respuesta. (p. 289)

The parody of misogynist discourse written for the beloved is completed by the denunciation at the end of the letter. Marcus' correspondents are the exact opposite of the virgins, ever conscious of their *honor*, for whom Torroella, Mexía, Tapia and Lucena write. They are old, prostitutes and procuresses, motivated solely by avarice, without any sense of *honor* or even *honra*, but careful to conduct their business in sufficient secrecy to avoid prosecution:

Bien sabes tu, Abilina, la que compusiste la comedia, que mas caro vendia Heumedes carne de vitellas en su carneçeria, que tu virgines innoçentes en tu casa. Bien sabes tu, Toringa, que vn dia delante [de] mi contaas tus enamorados y no los pudiendo contar por los dedos, pediste vn modin de garuanços. Bien sabes tu, Luçia Fuluia, que quando te fuiste (ya sabes con quien) a Vietro, y hezimos las pazes con tu marido, le sacaste por partido que cada semana o tu dormieses fuera, o el no dormiese en casa. Bien sabes tu, Rotoria, que dos años de tu moçedad anduiste por la mar, y conçertaste conel cossario pirrata que para çien hombres de armada no pudiese meter otra enamorada enla galera. Bien sabes tu, Eгна Curçia, que quando el çensor entro a sacarte las prendas porel tributo, que te hallo çinco ropas de hombre con que andauas de noche y no mas de vna de muger con que andauas de dia. Bien sabes tu, Pesulana Fabriçia, que Albino Metello delante el çensor, siendo casada, te puso demanda publica delo que ganauas en su casa con tus amigos [en] secreto. Bien sabes tu, Camilla, que no contenta conlos de tu tierra, dela mucha frequentaçion que tenian contigo los de estrañas naçiones sabes tu hablar todas las lenguas. (pp. 288-9)

This is not the same as vituperation. Nor is Marcus merely substantiating the claim made shortly before, "la menos mala de vosotras, las maldades de su vida no podre contar en toda mi vida." (p. 288) This is a denunciation which will have serious consequences for his correspondents. These women are in the same business as Celestina, *la lozana andaluza*, Lázaro and his wife and their literary kith and kin. The more ludicrous anecdotes resemble some of the deeds of the prostitutes whose thumbnail biographies serve as prose commentary in the *Carajicomedia*. Their business is illegal and hence secret, as Rotoria's contract

with the pirate, Lucia Fulvia's arrangement with her husband and Egna Curcia's wardrobe indicate. They are *mujeres enamoradas*, clandestine prostitutes, criminals as opposed to the officially tolerated and regulated *mozas públicas de la mancebía*.⁴⁵ Marcus' denunciation will almost certainly lead to legal proceedings against them.

Between the first and second body of arguments advanced in support of the Egyptian theory Marcus digresses, ostensibly to refute another feminist argument related to the question of women's obedience:

Comun dezir es de mugeres que somos ingratos los hombres, porque nasciendo de vuestras entrañas, hos tractamos como a sieruas, y que pues nos paristes con peligro y nos criastes con trabajo, era iusta cosa nosotros nos ocupasemos siempre en vuestro seruicio. (p. 284)

This is indeed an argument frequently advanced in feminist discourse. In the *Triunfo de las donas* the third of Cardiana's reasons why woman deserves more love than man is "por traher della mas parte en la generación" (p. 217). In the conclusion to the *Libro de las claras e virtuosas mugeres* Alvaro de Luna argues that men are bound to be grateful to women and, therefore, to never speak ill of them "por los grandes trabajos que ouieron en nos soportar e traer en los sus vientres, e por los dolores e peligros que pasaron en nos parir" (p. 249). The last and strongest of the twenty-one reasons why men are bound to be grateful to women given by Leriano is the same: "somos hijos de mugeres, de cuyo respeto les somos más obligados que por ninguna razón de las dichas ni de cuantas se pueden dezir." (p. 165)

Marcus refutes the argument by deducing that parturition is cause for sorrow, not a reason for gratitude and servitude to women. The refutation is a *sorites*, two enthymemes joined so that the conclusion of the first is the major premiss of the second. Marcus argues, first, that concupiscence is an evil and, second, that the predisposition to concupiscence is innate, indeed, introduced *in utero*. Since the

⁴⁵See the sections on clandestine prostitution in fifteenth and sixteenth century Spain and, specifically, on legislation against such prostitutes in the chapter, "L'infra-monde de la célestinesque", in Pierre Heugas's *«La Célestine» et sa descendance directe* (Bordeaux: Institut d'Études Ibériques et Ibéro-américaines de l'Université de Bordeaux, 1973) pp. 457-79.

major premiss of the first enthymeme is (understood to be) that to remember an evil causes sorrow, it follows that the memory of birth causes sorrow.

The refutation is at variance with ethical didactic works which include misogynist discourse such as *Arcipreste de Talavera*, *lo Spiritu*'s speech in *II Corbaccio* and the Latin treatises from which Martínez de Toledo and Boccaccio take their material. The first premiss, however, is the same as the minor premiss of an argument frequently advanced against concupiscence by moralists. Marcus asserts that concupiscence is an incurable madness:

No ay ojos que no lloren, coraçon que no se quebrante, espiritu que no se entristezca, por ver a vn hombre cuerdo perdido tras vna loca. Passasele el dia al tal en çeuar sus ojos, la noche escura en atormentarse con pensamientos, vn dia en oyr nuevas, otro dia en hazer seruicios, quando ama las tinieblas, quando aborresce la luz, muere con compania, biue con soledad; y finalmente el enamorado puede lo que no quiere y quiere lo que no puede. Pues mas ay, que ni le aprouechan consejos de amigos, ni infamias de enemigos, ni perder la hazienda, ni auenturar la honra, ni dexar la vida, ni buscar la muerte, ni allegarse çerca, ni huir lexos, ni ver con los ojos, ni oyr con las orejas, ni que guste el gusto, ni toque la mano; y finalmente, pudiendo de si alcançar victoria, contra si siempre tiene la guerra. (pp. 284-5)

It is firmly held medical opinion in the Middle Ages and Renaissance that concupiscence is a form of madness, an opinion from which an argument against it is easily deduced.⁴⁶ The argument is advanced in the *Repetición de amores* (pp. 73-4), and also, at somewhat greater length, in Chapter Seven of the first part of *Arcipreste de Talavera*, "de cómo muchos enloquecen por amores":

Otra razón es muy fuerte contra el amor y amantes, que amor su naturaleza es penar el cuerpo en la vida e procurar tormento al ánima después de la muerte. ¿ Quántos, di, amigo, viste o oíste dezir que en este mundo amaron que su vida fue dolor e enojo, pensamientos, sospiros e congojas, non dormir, mucho velar, non comer, mucho pensar? E, lo peor, mueren muchos de tal mal e otros son privados de su buen entend[i]miento. (p. 79)

The second premiss, in contrast, would be objectionable to Martínez de Toledo and *lo Spiritu*. Marcus argues that men are predisposed to concupiscence:

⁴⁶See John Livingstone Lowes, "The Lovers maladye of hereos", *Modern Philology* X (1913-4), pp. 491-546.

Las entrañas de donde nascimos son de carne, los pechos que mamamos son de carne, los braços donde nos criamos son de carne, los pensamientos que tenemos son de carne, las obras que obramos son de carne, los hombres con quien biuimos son de carne, y las mugeres por quien morimos son de carne, por cuya causa viniendo la carne dellos al reclamo de la carne dellas, muchos coraçones libres tropieçan en la red de amores. (p. 285)

Martínez de Toledo and *lo Spiritu* argue the opposite. The last part of *Arcipreste de Talavera* refutes an argument that concupiscence is astrologically predetermined. The last part of *lo Spiritu*'s long speech is an argument that the implied author's concupiscence is inexcusable, that, of his own free will, the implied author chose to sin. Marcus argues that concupiscence is almost irresistible. As an argument addressed to unknown pagans it is not indisputable. That flesh attracts flesh is a premiss which would require proof. For the implied reader of the *Libro áureo*, however, the argument is quite convincing: it could be deduced from two verses of the second chapter of *Genesis*, part of the passage from which feminists deduce that woman is purer than man:

And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of man.

Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh.

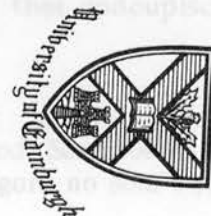
The mention of "coraçones libres" and the assertion that love is an incurable madness are signs that Guevara's moral exegesis is influenced by the Augustinian notion that original sin is transmitted to each generation by concupiscence.⁴⁷ For concupiscence enfeebles free will, Put another way, lust makes men grace Christians can break out of made flesh, cannot.

The difference from ethical d is determined by Marcus' opposi argues that it is almost irresistib

⁴⁷ Interpretation of *Genesis* 2: concupiscence is not without prec "Mandaste al hombre por la muge mas a ti y a tu ley desamparan, co

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should not be resisted. That it is an incurable madness is a good reason for mounting the strongest resistance possible. In the ostensible refutation of the feminist argument that the pain and risk to life involved in giving birth is a reason for gratitude and servitude to women Marcus insinuates another, a refutation of the principal argument of the lover and his intermediary in letters and speeches to the beloved. The second premiss of the refutation is directly opposed to the major premiss of the lover's argument whereas it is only at variance with ethical didactic works which include misogynist discourse.

The logical proposition that the memory of birth causes sorrow is not stated but displaced by that of an ethical argument deduced from it, a proposition which demonstrates Marcus' own sorrow. This proposition is immediately joined to an elliptical and metaphoric summary of the argument to follow:

O mugeres, en acordarme que nasci de vosotras, aborrezco la vida,
en pensar que biuo con vosotras, amo la muerte, porque no ay
otra muerte, sino con vosotras tractar, y no ay otra vida, sino de
vosotras huir. (p. 284)

The ethical proposition and the elliptical summary and, above all, the use of the words 'life' and 'death' in both their true senses and also as metaphors for peace of mind and anguish make this period a travesty of the lover's claim that the anguish of unrequited love is such that he is dying or that he wishes to die. Marcus claims almost the opposite: that the thought of contact with women makes life intolerable. The lover argues that the beloved causes his love and that, by not returning it she will cause his death and, assuming the major premiss that it is wrong to cause someone's death, concludes that she ought to return his love.⁴⁸ Marcus' erotic aetiology is opposed to this argument. He argues that the beloved does not cause concupiscence, that, instead, men are predisposed to concupiscence. Assuming the major premiss that one should feel sorry for those predestined to madness, he concludes that one should feel sorry for them, but not

⁴⁸ Although unrequited love seems to cause death in sentimental romance in only two cases -Fiometa's and Leriano's-, the chief argument of every lover, reiterated in one form or another in every letter and speech to the beloved, is that she will cause his death if she does not return his love. And it is not an argument confined to fictitious discourse: it is advanced in each of the six model letters included in the *Cartas y coplas para requerir nuevos amores* (facsimile and introduction by Francisco López Estrada in the *Revista de Bibliografía Nacional* VI (1945), pp. 227-39)

satisfy their concupiscence.

The second digression occurs between the end of the arguments advanced in support of the Greek theory and the denunciation of the prostitutes at the end of the letter. It consists of two admonitions: a brief one addressed to men and another, supported by more extensive argument, to women.

The minor premiss of the first admonition is the same as the second premiss of the refutation:

Pues los dioses lo mandaron y nuestros [hados] lo permittieron, que la vida delos hombres no pueda passar sin mugeres, auiso alos moços y ruego alos viejos, despierto alos cuerdos y enseño alos simples, que huyan de mugeres de mala fama mas que de pestilença publica. (p. 286)

There are three differences between this proposition and that of misogynist discourse written for the beloved. The first, and most important, is that it is quite serious. The proposition that men should avoid women and the arguments advanced in its support are a pretext for other arguments in Torroella's, Mexía's, Tapia's and Lucena's parodies of misogynist verse and prose. It is logical that in a parody of parodies certain structures should return to their original, proper function. However, the second difference is that the admonition is mostly unrelated to the rest of the letter. It is an appendix, the last vestige of misogynist discourse exhibiting a masculine ethical didactic function, included either for the (paradoxical) ludic pleasure of reverting to seriousness or out of sheer generic habit but, in either case, not because it is relevant to the rest of the discourse. Although it shares the same premiss as the second argument of the refutation, it is an afterthought, a conclusion separated from that argument by the Greek theory and its supporting arguments. Except in as much as it is an admonition, it is irrelevant to the discourse which follows. It is the only passage of the letter which implies a masculine reader. The rest implies either a reader of either sex or a woman, either one of the correspondents or some other unknown feminine reader. The third difference is that whereas the proposition both of parodies of and serious misogynist discourse, like those of Part Two of *Arcipreste de Talavera* and of *lo Spiritu's* speeches in *Il Corbaccio*, is an admonition to avoid all women or, at least, all vicious women, Marcus admonishes men to avoid disreputable women. The difference seems slight, but it is, like Marcus' insistence on unruliness as a feminine vice, a measure of the letter's intermediate state between

fifteenth century misogyny which exhibits an ethical didactic function for men and its reorganisation in the sixteenth century as discourse to regulate women's behaviour. For the admonition to avoid disreputable women is usually addressed to women, as it is just after this admonition.

The admonition addressed to unknown women readers is preceded by an argument that there are few Roman women of good repute. It is offered both as a remedy and as a partial explanation. Marcus cites two laws allegedly made by Plato, not as an authority, but, because of the severity of the first and the mildness of the second, as signs of Roman decadence. In an apostrophe to the philosopher and supposed legislator, Marcus exclaims that, whereas there used to be "tanta penuria de malas mugeres y tanta abundancia de buenas" in Athens, there are now "tantas malas publicas y tan pocas buenas secretas" in Rome (p. 287). Observing that womankind is not "naturalmente" vicious, he suggests a reason for this decadence by admonishing women not to trust themselves to "la cordura delos cuerdos" nor their reputation to "la liuiandad delos liuianos" and, specifically, to keep away from men who make them promises. For,

despues que las llamas de Venus estan ençendidas y Cupido ha frechado sus frechas, el rico offresçe todo lo que tiene y el pobre todo lo que puede, el sabio que sera su amigo y el simple para siempre su sieruo, el cuerdo que perdera por ella la vida, el loco que tomara por ella la muerte, los viejos dizenle que seran amigos de sus amigos, los moços que lo seran de sus enemigos, vnos prometiendo de pagar sus deudas y otros de vengar sus iniurias; finalmente, est[a]s porque les encubran su pobreza, y aquell[a]s porque les publiquen su hermosura, dexan las bobas perder sus personas y dar fin a sus famas. (*ibid*).⁴⁹

The admonition satirizes mythical notions of love as an irrepressible, invincible and anarchic force and the argument deduced from them, that lovers are not responsible for their behaviour. Dom Pedro de Portugal, in a commentary on Cupid's attributes in the *Sátira de felice e infelice vida*, argues that the hearts hanging from his belt signify lovers' lack of willpower, the blindfold lovers'

⁴⁹I have emended what seems to be a copyist's error at the end of the period: "finalmente, estos porque les encubran su pobreza, y aquellos porque les encubran su pobreza, y aquellos porque les publiquen su hermosura, dexan las bobas perder sus personas y dar fin a sus famas."

unreasonableness and the griffin's talons -instead of feet- the subhuman quality of love and lovers' inability to free themselves of it.⁵⁰ In the treatise *De como al ome es necesario amar*, Alfonso de Madrigal argues that love overcomes all ages and all kinds of men.⁵¹ Lucena, who includes both the commentary on Cupid's attributes and a long passage from the treatise in the *Repetición de amores*, argues that love also overcomes gods, barbarians and animals and is no less powerful at sea and in heaven and in hell than it is on earth (pp. 55-7). And lovers frequently excuse certain deeds, such as writing letters to and requesting signs of pity and affection from the beloved, by arguing that they are not responsible for their behaviour. Marco ridicules this argument by noting that Cupid's darts and the Ovidian conflagration or, rather, mention of them soon gives way to banal promises and, ultimately, to two vices, women's genuine motives, avarice and vanity.

The travesty of feminist arguments deduced from *Genesis* is a serious argument which implies a reader other than one of the correspondents, an argument equivalent, therefore to the refutation of the other feminist argument and to the admonitions. The satirical pastiche, however, is not only equivalent but also logically related to the refutation. Although the feminist arguments deduced from *Genesis* are satirized rather than refuted, the principal error, the appropriation of Scripture as an authority for arguments which, sooner or later, promote vice, is not ignored. It would be difficult or impossible to dispute the interpretation of Scripture in a letter which purports to have been written by a pagan. Moreover, to participate in such a dispute would be tacitly to relinquish the claim of the Church to authoritative interpretation of Scripture, a potentially greater evil than not challenging foolish misinterpretation. The doctrine of original sin, however, cited in the refutation of the other feminist argument, suggests that all the feminist arguments deduced from *Genesis* are quite irrelevant, which is an elegant refutation.

It was noted at the beginning of the analysis of the letter that its five functions

⁵⁰ *Sátira de felice e infelice vida*, in the *Obras completas*, p. 91.

⁵¹ Alfonso de Madrigal, *Tratado que hizo el Tostado de cómo al ome es necesario amar*, in the *Opúsculos literarios de los siglos XIV á XVI*, compiled by Antonio Paz y Méla (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1892), pp. 223-7.

seem irrelevant to or even at odds with each other. It is worth digressing to treat this matter before concluding the analysis. The letter may have a flaw, but this apparent incongruousness is not it. Combinations of functions which seem equally or even more incongruous are not infrequent in letters of the period, even in letters which have not been revised for publication in a collection. Moreover, the arguments whose implied reader is one of the correspondents and those which imply another, unknown reader join in the denunciation, for it implies both readers. Arguments to check antipathy to Marcus' cause become necessary once the decision is made to vituperate as well as denounce the prostitutes. Lastly, far from undermining his moral stature, Marcus' acquaintance with the prostitutes ought to endow him with the unchallengeable authority of the reformed sinner in questions of sexual ethics. Marcus (and Guevara) frequently indicate that experience is more authoritative than either mere age or the opinions of philosophers.

Marcus' authority is not unchallengeable, however, because he is charged by the prostitutes, not with concupiscence, but with hypocrisy, as he notes, dispassionately, in the *narratio* :

Sacastesme pintado de muchas maneras, con vn libro en la mano al reues como philosopho fingido, con la lengua muy sacada como parlero atreuido, con vna carocha en la cabeza como cornudo publico, con vnas hortigas en la mano como a enamorado tibio, con vna vandra caida como a capitan couarde, con media barba hecha como hombre fermentado, y con vn paño en los ojos como nescio condenado. Y no contentas con esto, sacastesme otro dia con otra inuencion nueva. Hezistesme vna estatua, los pies de paja, las espenillas de alambre, las rodillas de madera, los muslos de cobre, el vientre alcornoque, los brazos de pez, las manos de massa, la cabeza de yeso, las orejas de asno, los ojos de biuora, los cabellos de rayzes de parra, los dientes de gato, la lengua de escorpion y la frente de plomo, en la qual estauan esculpidas en dos ringlones estas letras *N.H.T.M.S.Q.M.V.S.*, las quales a mi parescer quieren dezir esto: no tienen tantos metales la estatua, quantos doblezes su vida; y despues de esto hecho, fuistes al rio y alli la tuuistes cabeza abaxo colgada vn dia entero, y si no fuera por la señora Messalina, pienso que hasta oy estuuiera alli colgada. (p. 281)

Except in as much as he denounces those who bring the charge, Marcus seems to make no attempt to rebut it. Although the testimony of clandestine prostitutes cannot be regarded as reliable, the charge seriously undermines the authority required to admonish other unknown readers about concupiscence. Indeed, it

makes the reader of the *Libro áureo* suspicious. Issues are raised which might otherwise pass unnoticed, such as whether the real reason for not allowing Faustina to enter his study is that, as she and Márquez Villanueva later suspect, he keeps a mistress inside, or whether the buffoons are exiled in revenge for his riding accident rather than, as he claims in his letter to Lambertus, because they caused a riot and have a deleterious effect on public morals.⁵²

The charge brought by the prostitutes would be very difficult to rebut. His own testimony is inadmissible. To obtain and cite the testimony of others in a letter would be so unusual that suspicion would probably increase. Arguments that there are many signs in his behaviour in the past that he is not a hypocrite would be too easily controvertible and would constitute a tedious and feeble rebuttal. The only remaining option is not to rebut the charge but to let time do so for him. And, for the implied reader of the *Libro áureo*, the charge is rebutted three times: first, in the denunciation at the end of the letter when Marcus incriminates himself both generally, by indicating that he has been a client of these prostitutes, and specifically, by admitting that Toringa counted up all her clients for him and that he participated in the conference with Lucia Fulvia's husband; second, when in several speeches and letters composed after this letter, he admits to the frailty of his own flesh; and third, the most convincing rebuttal, by ensuring that this very letter was preserved. These acts are strong signs that Marcus is not a hypocrite.

It may be that the inclusion of the prostitutes' charge of hypocrisy is a flaw in the work, that Guevara, carried away by the opportunity to display his wit and skill parodying parodies, overlooked the consequences which this passage might have. It seems to me, however, that the question of Marcus' integrity is raised quite deliberately in order to make the reader decide, before reading the correspondence with Bohemia and the three love-letters, by making deductions from all the signs of character available and balancing the probabilities, whether he is a hypocrite. In which case the letter would be an occasion, like a number of others, on which Guevara controls the implied reader very carefully, while

⁵²Faustina suspects that there is "ascondida alguna amiga en esse estudio" in the version of the quarrel in the *Relox de príncipes*, a suspicion also entertained by Márquez Villanueva in the article "Marco Aurelio y Faustina", (p. 3).

seeming not to do so.

Although the letter is a parody of certain parodies of misogynist discourse, it is not equivalent to the original hypotext, to discourse such as Part Two of *Arcipreste de Talavera* or *lo Spiritu*'s speech in *Il Corbaccio*. Sexual relationships are regulated, not prohibited. Concupiscence is assumed to be inevitable. The problem is to promote an acceptable sexual ethic. This ethic defines itself by its opposition to courtly love. The beloved is equated with a clandestine prostitute, a criminal, not with perfect virtue. Appropriate discourse for her, for an *enamorada*, is a battery of insults. The virtuous woman is obedient to men, whereas the courtly lover is a slave to his beloved. The chief argument of the lover is refuted.

Chapter 4

Moral Letter Collection and Sentimental Romance

The speeches and letters in the *Libro áureo* constitute a mixture of a moral letter collection and sentimental romance. The speeches and the first twelve letters resemble items in moral letter collections. Letters Thirteen to Eighteen resemble those included in sentimental romance. And the last letter is of a kind that could be found in either a moral letter collection or a sentimental romance.

If fifteenth and sixteenth century Spanish letters have received little attention, then the collections assembled at that time are in danger of slipping into oblivion. There is widespread ignorance of the very existence of some collections. And differences of structure and function and hence of genre are not recognised. Collections are regarded as a single genre which exhibits a mixture of biographical, philological, philosophical, moral and literary functions according to the variety of the letters -instead of as a discursive practice consisting of several genres, each of which exhibits a different function according to the letters of which it consists.¹ This is not only because they are rarely studied, but, above all, because the letters which constitute them are preserved in archives which mistake the collections for rudimentary equivalents of themselves, that is, incomplete, ill-assorted and disordered archives. Deciding whether a given *corpus epistolarum* is a collection or a letter book (a copy of letters sent and received and hence a kind of archive) is sometimes difficult.² Very often, however, what is unquestionably a collection is treated as an archive. In one case, an edition of Diego de Valera's *Tratado de las epístolas*, letters ordered by variety of issue are re-ordered by date.³ In two others, editions of Guevara's *Epístolas familiares* and of a collection of letters by Francisco Ortiz of the same name, items are discarded

¹In her "Letters and Letter Writing in Fifteenth Century Castile: A Study and Catalogue" (Ph.D. diss., California, 1984), Carol Anne Copenhagen notes that modern editions of fifteenth century collections must be used with some care because of chronological re-arrangement (pp. 94-110). She does not pursue the matter any further, however, and there is little discussion of the kinds of collection assembled.

²On the difference between archives and collections see Giles Constable, *Letters and Letter-Collections*, pp. 56-62.

³Diego de Valera, *Tratado de las epístolas* in *Prosistas castellanas del siglo XV*, edited by Mario Penna, vol. I, BAE, vol. 116 (Madrid: Atlas, 1959), pp. 3-34. The original order is given in an endnote on p. 397.

because they are not letters.⁴ And in two others, an archive of Francisco López de Villalobos's Castilian letters and another of letters to, from and about Vives, as little data is given about collections from which many of the letters are derived as about archives and other sources.⁵ Chronologically ordered archives of authentic letters are, of course, useful, but they exhibit no literary functions. To mistake collections for archives, therefore, is to deny them their literary status. It is worthwhile, therefore, digressing to identify the kinds of collection assembled before demonstrating the relationship of the speeches and letters in the *Libro áureo* to one of them.

Identifying kinds of collection is a task which might seem, initially and theoretically, impossible or, at least, very difficult because of the enormous potential for generic contamination which they exhibit, a potential determined by the loose connection of the primary and secondary structures. New kinds of letter could displace old ones with such ease that changes in the constitution of collections would be so extensive and rapid that generic relationships would never come into existence. Only parodic relationships would exist in what would seem an unusually dynamic field of the literary system. Perhaps this theoretical objection has prevented critics from attempting generic classification. Yet this has

⁴Antonio de Guevara, *Epístolas familiares*, and Francisco Ortiz, *Epístolas familiares* in *Epistolario español*, collected and edited by Eugenio de Ochoa, vol. I, BAE, vol. 13 (Madrid: Atlas, 1945), pp. 77-228 & 250-94. In the first case Ochoa silently discards all the sermons, most of the 'razonamientos', the two disputes with Jews, the fictitious correspondence between Trajan and Plutarch and the Senate and the last letter, which is in Latin. In the second he discards the first, third and fourth items because "por su mucha extension y la aridez de su argumento no pueden considerarse como tales cartas, siendo mas bien discursos o tratados especiales sobre diversas materias." (p. 251)

⁵Francisco López de Villalobos, "Cartas castellanas" in *Algunas obras del doctor Francisco López de Villalobos*, edited by Antonio Maria Fabié, Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles no. XXIV (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1886), pp. 1-184. Juan Luis Vives, *Epistolario*, collected and translated by José Jiménez Delgado (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1978). The chronologically ordered archive of López de Villalobos's letters assembled by Antonio Maria Fabié is mostly based on a manuscript collection. Fabié does not indicate which of the 47 letters in his archive are the 37 derived from the collection nor their order (nor even the signature assigned the manuscript by the British Museum). Jiménez Delgado does not indicate which of the 195 letters in his archive are the 61 which constitute the *Epistolarum quae hactenus farrago* (Antwerp, 1556) and the 20 which constitute the *Epistolae* included in the *Opera* (Basle, 1550) nor the order of the letters in these two collections.

not happened in other cases of discourse whose principal and secondary structures are loosely connected (such as sequences of poems, miscellanies and Menippean satire). And, indeed, not only is generic classification possible, but there are signs of considerable generic consciousness. The kinds, number and order of letters and certain epitextual discourse such as prefatory material, epigraphs and, if included, dates often indicate generic consciousness. Ultimately, however, kind is determined by the relationships between the letters in different collections, relationships which are more often parodic than generic.

There were three main kinds of letter collection assembled in Spain in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries; the biographical, the didactic and the entertaining. Biographical collections consist of all kinds of letters since any may include data about the author's life. Newsletters, however, are of great biographical value. Didactic collections consist of expository, suasory, monitory, hortatory and consolatory letters. The expository letter, the predecessor of the essay, is of general didactic value. The four other kinds, because they put the principles of morality into practice, are especially valuable in moral collections.

Biographical collections, classical, neo-Latin and in the vernacular, obtained a great publishing success in Italy. In Spain, as in the rest of Europe, they did not. Three neo-Latin biographical collections, Lucio Marineo's *Epistolarum familiarum*, Pedro Mártir's *Opus epistolarum* and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda's *Epistolarum*, were assembled and published and some collections of vernacular letters include a biographical admixture. Didactic and entertaining collections, however, obtained much greater publishing successes. Biographical collections are worth treating at some length, however, to demonstrate both that they do not constitute the central genre and that they are quite different from the two other kinds. Critics such as Rallo Gruss (pp. 247-54) and Concejo (pp. 30-1), probably because the three neo-Latin collections published in Spain are so well known, imply the contrary, that biographical collections do constitute the central genre and that others are merely variations. It is also to be suggested that it is Italy, not Spain, that is different, that the publishing success obtained by biographical collections was an Italian rather than a European phenomenon.

The chief classical biographical collections, the models for neo-Latin and, mediately, vernacular ones, were: Cicero's *Ad familiares*; his *Ad Brutum et ceteros epistolae*, a collection consisting of what are now regarded as three

separate ones, the *Ad Brutum*, the *Ad Quintum fratrem* and the *Ad Atticum*; and Pliny's *Epistularum*.⁶ The first printed edition of the *Ad familiares* was made at Rome in 1467.⁷ The collection obtained an extraordinary publishing success in Italy: fifty editions and reprints were made there before the end of the century. The *Ad M. Brutum & ceteros epistolae*, first published at Rome in 1470, was less successful, republished only four times before the end of the century. Pliny's *Epistularum* was first published at Venice in 1471. It was republished seven times, once within an edition of his *Opera*, in Italy before the end of the century. Symmachus' *Epistolae*, the other classical biographical collection, was not rediscovered, presumably, until somewhat later and it did not obtain a publishing success comparable to those of Cicero and Pliny. It was first published at Venice or Strasburg sometime around 1510. It was republished five times in Europe before 1700.

In the fifteenth century neo-Latin biographical collections were assembled almost exclusively by Italian humanists. Editions of their collections, however, were published elsewhere in Europe. Clough notes (pp. 39-40) that neo-Latin biographical collections by Leonardo Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini and Pier Candido Decembrio were circulating in manuscript by the 1440s. Biographical collections were assembled before that time, but they did not circulate. Extant manuscripts show that instead letters were selected from them and transcribed into anthologies (p. 38). In the 1470s, however, a number of biographical collections were published in print. Bruni's *Epistolarum familiarum* was first published perhaps at Venice in 1472. It was republished four times before the end of the century at different places outside Italy. Francesco Filelfo's collection of the same name was first published at Venice in the same year or the next. It was republished fourteen times at various places in Europe before the end of the century. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's *Epistolae in Cardinalatu editae*, was published at Rome in 1475. In

⁶The manuscript discovered by Petrarch at Verona in 1345 was not only of the *Ad Atticum*, but also of the *Ad M. Brutum*, the *Ad Quintum fratrem* and a spurious letter to Octavian. See John Edwin Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. II, From the Revival of Learning to the End of the Eighteenth Century (in Italy, France, England and the Netherlands) (New York: Hafner Publishing, 1958), p. 18.

⁷Bibliographical data on classical and Italian neo-Latin biographical collections published before 1500 is taken from the first and third appendices to Clough's essay "The Cult of Antiquity: Letters and Letter Collections", pp. 39-40.

a variety of editions, some of which included speeches, a treatise and an anthology of letters by others, it was republished seventeen times at various places in Europe before the end of the century. Several other neo-Latin biographical collections by Italian humanists such as il Panormita (Antonio Beccadelli), Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Marsilio Ficino were published in the late fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century. These collections, however, went through many fewer editions than Filelfo's and Piccolomini's. And by the mid sixteenth century, Clough notes (p. 34), neo-Latin biographical collections had been superseded by vernacular ones. Pietro Bembo's *Epistolarum familiarum libri VI* was published only once, posthumously, at Venice in 1552, whereas his *Lettere* were republished six times before the end of the sixteenth century.

Elsewhere in Europe in the sixteenth century interest in neo-Latin biographical collections was much less. Many humanists, although no less famous than the Italian ones of the previous century, did not trouble to assemble collections. Some of Sir Thomas More's letters were collected and included in the *Lucubrationes* published at Basle in 1563. John Colet and Thomas Linacre never assembled collections, although -to judge from the number of letters by them and to them included in anthologies and others' collections- this was not for lack of the wherewithal. Moreover collections which were published often went through only one or two editions. Robert Gaguin's *Epistolae et orationes*, for instance, was published twice at Paris in 1498.⁸ It was not republished until the twentieth century. Robert Breton's *Epistolarum libri tres* was published with a number of other works at Toulouse in 1536. A continuation or, possibly, a new edition, the *Epistolarum libri duo* was published at Paris four years later. Pierre Bunel's *Epistolae familiares* was published at Paris in 1551 and, together with Paulus Manutius' collection, at the same place in 1581. Johannes Gelida's and Arnoul Fabrice's collections were published together at La Rochelle in 1571.

Two, probably not unrelated, demographic changes at the turn of the century affected the assembly and publication of neo-Latin biographical collections in

⁸Louis Thuasne explains that Gaguin had a second edition published not because of demand for the first, but because the first was full of omissions and errors and printed in Gothic type. Robert Gaguin, *Epistole et Orationes: texte publié sur les éditions originales de 1498 précédé d'une notice biographique*, ed. Louis Thuasne (Paris: Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1903), vol. I, pp. 138-9.

three ways. Collections were assembled by expatriot Italian and humanists of other nationalities and published, often for the one and only time, outside Italy. These humanists tended to assemble collections at an earlier age than their predecessors. Those published in Italy in the fifteenth century were often assembled either posthumously (by a colleague or secretary) or in old age. Consequently they were more or less definitive, selections representing life times' correspondences. In the sixteenth century humanists tended to assemble more than one collection, later ones including a selection of letters from or continuing earlier ones. The first part of the Sicilian Parisius Cataldus' *Epistolae* -the first neo-Latin biographical collection published in the Iberian peninsula- was published at Lisbon around 1500. A second part was published at the same place some thirteen years later.⁹ In 1520 Guillaume Budé published his *Epistolae*, a collection which became known as the *Epistolae priores*, at Paris. Two years later he published another collection under the same title, which became known as the *Epistolae posteriores*, at the same place. Nine years after that he combined the two with some other letters and published the new collection at the same place as the *Epistolarum latinorum libri V et graecorum libri I*. Twenty six years after that some more letters were added and the collection was included in the *Lucubrationes variae* published at Basle. In 1519 Erasmus' *Farrago nova* was published at Basle. Two years later another collection of his letters, the *Ad diversos* was published at the same place. Eight years after that the *Opus epistolarum* was published at the same place. And in 1538 the *Epistolae universae* was published at the same place. Between 1516 and 1519 Erasmus published a letter collection every year.¹⁰

In Italy, neo-Latin biographical collections were succeeded by vernacular ones. The first volume of Pietro Aretino's *Lettere* was published at Venice in

⁹See Haebler, *Bibliografía ibérico del siglo XV*, no. 136 and Norton *A descriptive catalogue of printing in Spain and Portugal 1501-1520*, no. P26.

¹⁰These are: the *Epistole ad Erasmum* (Louvain, 1516); the *Epistole elegantes* (Louvain, 1517); the *Auctarium selectarum* (Basle, 1518); and the *Farrago* (Basle, 1519).

1537.¹¹ It was soon followed by Nicolò Franco's *Pistole Volgari* (Venice, 1539), the first volume of Anton Francesco Doni's *Lettere* (Piacenza, 1544), Nicolò Martelli's *Lettere* (Florence, 1546), Claudio Tolomei's *Lettere* (Venice, 1547), Horatio Brunetto's *Lettere* (Venice, 1548) and very many others throughout the rest of the sixteenth century.

Nowhere else in Europe were vernacular biographical collections produced in such quantity. In his "Consideration sur Ciceron" Montaigne notices that the Italians "sont grand imprimeurs de lettres" and mentions that he possesses a hundred volumes of Italian, as opposed to French, letters.¹² In France there were only four collections of vernacular letters published in the sixteenth century: Hélienne de Crenne's *Épistres familières et invectives* (Paris: D. Junot, 1539); Estienne du Tronchet's *Lettres missives et familières* (Paris: N. du Chemin, 1569); Madeleine and her daughter Catherine des Roches' *Missives* (Paris: A. L'Angelier, 1586); and the first ten books of Estienne Pasquier's *Lettres* (Paris: A. L'Angelier, 1586).¹³ And only the last of these is a biographical collection comparable to the Italian ones.

As they were edited in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, classical biographical collections consist of many letters ordered either by issue, correspondent and date or by date and variety of issue. The *Ad M. Brutum & ceteros epistolae* consists of 443 letters divided into twenty books. The first consists of correspondence between Cicero and Brutus, except for a letter from the latter to Atticus. Two of the letters are undated, but they are all in chronological order. The second, third and fourth books consist of twenty eight letters to Quintus, only one of which is dated, but all of which are in more or less chronological order. The other sixteen books consist mostly of letters to Atticus, many of which are dated and all of which are in more or less chronological order. The *Ad familiares* consists of 421 letters divided into 16 books. Each book tends

¹¹ Bibliographical data about Italian vernacular biographical collections is taken from Jeannine Basso's article, "La lettera «familiare» nella retorica epistolare del XVI e del XVII secolo in Italia," (*Quaderni di Retorica e Poetica* I (1985), pp. 57-65).

¹² Montaigne, *Essais: livre I*, edited with an introduction by Alexandre Micha (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1969), no. 40, p. 305.

¹³ See Fritz Neubert, "Die französischen Briefschreiber der Renaissance und ihre Verleger," *Germanisch-romanische Monatschrift* XVIII (1968), pp. 349-60.

to consist of Cicero's letters to someone on some issue together with any other relevant correspondence such as replies and letters to others. There are a number of exceptions, the chief one being Book Thirteen which consists of commendatory letters ordered by correspondent and by date. However, as D. R. Shackleton Bailey concludes an analysis of the traditional order in the introduction to his chronologically re-ordered edition of the *Ad familiares*, "all the Books show varying degrees of internal cohesion, some of them more than has generally been recognised."¹⁴ Pliny's *Epistularum* consists of 388 letters divided into 10 books. The last book consists of official correspondence with Trajan, 121 letters, undated but in chronological order and covering the period from 98 to 113 bc. They were published posthumously and added onto the first nine books. None of the letters in the first nine books are dated. Mention of events whose dates are known, however, show that the books are in chronological order and represent a selection of Pliny's letters between 97 and 108 or 109 a.d., whilst letters within each book are ordered by variety of issue. In the introduction to her edition of the *Epistularum* and the *Panegyricus*, Betty Radice comments:

Each book contains letters on a variety of themes, political and legal topics, literary criticism, appreciations of great men, advice and recommendation to his friends, domestic news, descriptions of natural phenomena, courtesy notes and jokes, arranged so as to provide a lively variation of tone. These are, of course, literary letters, far removed in kind from the only collection comparable in bulk, that of Cicero; the genre is more that of the verse epistles of Horace or Statius, while some of the shorter trifles recall the epigrams of Martial.¹⁵

It seems to me, however, that the collection is not so very far removed from Cicero's, that ordering the letters by date as well as by variety of issue is a sign that it is a generic mixture which exhibits not only a 'literary', but also a biographical function.

In Spain classical biographical letter collections were never very popular. A bilingual edition of the second book of the *Ad familiares* was published at Alcalá

¹⁴Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares*, edited with an introduction by D.R. Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), vol. I, pp. 20-3.

¹⁵Pliny, "*Letters*" and "*Panegyricus*", edited and translated with an introduction by Betty Radice (London: Heinemann, 1969), vol. I, p. xix.

in 1574. And a Latin edition of the whole of the *Ad familiares* was published at Salamanca in 1579. Pedro Simón Abril's translation of an anthology of Cicero's letters, *Los dieziseis libros*, was published a year later at Pamplona and republished once more, at Zaragoza in 1583, before the end of the sixteenth century. Pliny's collection was not published either in Latin or in translation in Spain until the seventeenth century.

Consistent with the lack of interest in Cicero's and Pliny's collections is the small number of humanist collections published in Spain in the sixteenth century. In 1514 a Sicilian, Lucio Marineo, had his *Epistolarum familiarum* published at Valladolid. Pedro Mártir's *Opus epistolarum* was published at Alcalá in 1530 and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda's *Epistolarum* at Salamanca in 1557. It is noticeable that two of these three humanists are Italian. Vives's *Epistolarum*, a small posthumous collection, first published at Antwerp in 1556, was not published in Spain until the late eighteenth century, included by Mayans in his edition of the *Opera omnia*.¹⁶ The lack of neo-Latin biographical collections is not caused by any shortage of competent Spanish humanists resident in their homeland. The small numbers of extant letters by many of them, by such as Alfonso de Palencia, Alvar Gómez and Juan de Vergara, indicate that many more must have been written and, therefore, that the wherewithal to assemble neo-Latin biographical collections was not lacking.¹⁷ These letters are no different from those included in such collections. Indeed many letters by Spanish humanists are included in biographical collections assembled by others and in anthologies published elsewhere. It must be concluded that there was almost no interest in neo-Latin biographical collections in Spain.

These letter collections tend to be large, predominantly made up of news letters and in chronological order. From Caro Lynn's *A College Professor of the*

¹⁶ *Joannis Ludovici Viuis Valentini Opera Omnia, distributa et ordinata in argumentorum classes praecipuas, a Gregorio Mayansio [...]* vol. VII (Valencia: Benedicto Monfort, 1789).

¹⁷ Ten Latin letters by Alfonso de Palencia and two addressed to him have been collected and edited with translations by Robert B. Tate and Rafael Alemany Ferrer and published as *Epístolas latinas* (Bellaterra, Barcelona: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, Facultad de Letras, 1982). Eleven Latin letters by Alvar Gómez and fourteen by Juan de Vergara are included by Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín in his "Clarorum hispaniensium epistolae ineditae," (*Bulletin hispanique* VIII (1901), pp. 199-214 & 232-60).

Renaissance: Lucio Marineo Sículo among the Spanish Humanists, a biography which includes extensive citation from the subject's correspondence, I gather that there were at least 393 letters, divided into seventeen books, in the *Epistolarum familiarum*.¹⁸ The collection is ordered in much the same way as Cicero's *Ad familiares*. It consists of many sub-collections of correspondence, which includes both Marineo's and others' letters, in chronological order. These sub-collections, however, are arranged in the main collection by the principle of variety. Mártir's *Opus epistolarum* consists of 813 letters divided into 38 books.¹⁹ These are, with a very few exceptions, all in chronological order. Each book represents a selection of his correspondence every year from 1488 to 1525. Sepúlveda's *Epistolarum* is much smaller than these two.²⁰ It consists of 103 letters, mostly his own, divided into seven books. They are basically in chronological order, although correspondence on the same matter is collected together irrespective of date.

Comparable to the Italian biographical vernacular collections in terms of publishing success, perhaps, are the Spanish vernacular moral collections. This kind of collection is chiefly modelled on Seneca's *Epistolae ad Lucilium* and certain patristic collections, most notably a selection of St Jerome's letters. Pero Díaz de Toledo's translation of a selection of 75 of the 124 *Epistolae ad Lucilium* was first published at Zaragoza in 1496, then 1502, 1510, 1529 and 1551. The number of manuscripts of the translation listed in *Booth* suggests that this translation was very popular in the fifteenth century.²¹ A medieval Italian vernacular moral collection modelled on those of patristic authors, St Catherine of Siena's *Lettere*, was translated by Antonio de la Peña at the behest of Cardinal

¹⁸Caro Lynn, *A College Professor of the Renaissance: Lucio Marineo Sículo among the Spanish Humanists* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937). The *Epistolarum familiarum* is a very rare book. Only one copy, in the University library at Salamanca, is known to exist. This may be a sign of a small print run which would be additional evidence of the marginal position of neo-Latin biographical collections.

¹⁹Pedro Mártir de Angleria, *Epistolario*, translated with an introduction by José López de Toro, *Documentos para la historia de España*, vols. IX-XII (Madrid: Duke of Alva et al., 1953, 1955, 1956 & 1957).

²⁰*Epistolario de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda*, selected and translated with an introduction by Angel Losada (Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1966).

²¹See the *Bibliography of Old Spanish Texts*, compiled by Charles B. Faulhaber et al., 3rd edition (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1984), nos. 106, 480, 482, 491, 498, 1059, 1779, 2127, 2682 and 3327.

Cisneros and published under the title *Obra de las epístolas* at Alcalá in 1512. A moral selection and translation of St Jerome's letters made by Juan de Molina obtained an unusual publishing success. First published at Valencia in 1515, it was republished seven times in thirty years, the last time at Burgos in 1554. It was superseded, it seems, by a number of Latin editions. In the meantime a number of Spanish moral collections were published. First was Fray Francisco Ortiz's *Epistolas familiares*, first published in Zaragoza in 1552 and republished at Alcalá in the same year and again at Zaragoza in 1592. In 1567 Alonso de Orozco's *Epistolario christiano para todos los estados* was published at Alcalá and republished in the second part of his *Obras* at the same place in 1570. In 1578 the first part of San Juan de Avila's *Epistolario general para todos los estados* was published at Alcalá. It was republished with the first edition of the second part at the same place a year later. The first, second and third parts were included in the *Obras* published at Madrid in 1588, republished with a fourth part at the same place in 1595 and 1596. In the first half of the next century there were similar moral collections published by San Juan de Dios, Fray Juan de Jesús María and Fray Francisco de León.²²

These collections tend to be much smaller than the autobiographical ones. In them expository, monitory, hortatory and consolatory letters predominate. In most of them the recipient's name and the date of each letter are omitted. They are ordered according to one of two principles, either that of variety or by some classification of the recipients' status. Ortiz's *Epístolas familiares* consists of 23 items, an "Instrucción para jueces" and 22 letters.²³ Most of the letters are dated and the recipients' names are included. None of the letters are news letters. They are exhortations to a variety of virtues, admonitions on behaviour, expositions of religious questions and two consolatory letters. Orozco's *Epistolario* is much smaller, consisting of only 13 letters, which are not dated and whose recipients are not named. The kinds of letters included are very much the same as those in

²²San Juan de Dios, *Cartas que escribió [...] a diferentes personas* (Madrid, 1623). Fray Juan de Jesús maria, *Epistolario espiritual para personas de diferentes estados* (Ucles, 1624). Fray Francisco de León, *Cartas espirituales* (Naples, 1652).

²³Francisco Ortiz, *Epístolas familiares*, in the *Epistolario español*, vol. I, pp. 251-94. In this edition the first, third and fourth items are omitted.

Ortiz's collection. These two collections resemble Seneca's with regard to the kinds of letters and their order. His are all addressed to one person, but because of their kind and because there is almost no news included in them it is impossible to tell whether or not they are in chronological order. Consequently the reader assimilates the ethical premises from which his admonitions and exhortations are drawn, ignoring the relevance of each letter to the specific circumstances which obtained or which purport to have obtained at the moment of composition.

Molina's selection of St Jerome's letters and Avila's *Epistolario espiritual* are ordered according to the status of the recipient. The intention is that the reader selects the ethical arguments most appropriate to his or her situation. Molina explains the criteria for selecting and ordering the letters in the proemial letter to María Enríquez de Borja:

yo he tomado solamente las epístolas morales cuya sentencia era para todos, compuestas de tal metal que amorosamente se han dejado labrar con el fuego y martillo de la lengua castellana. Las otras ni puede ni, a mi parecer, deben sacarlas del latín más que a los peces del agua. Estas recogí, aplicándolas a los estados que dentro en la S. Madre Iglesia se hallan. Ordenélas en libros y epístolas porque cada cual, conforme a su devoción, pudiesse hallar y sin trabajo lo que quisiese. [...] Bien sé que hallarán libros de otros autores escritos en particular, unos para casados, otros para religiosos, otros para hermitaños, de manera que cada uno ha tomado una parte. La riqueza empero de nuestro gran doctor todo lo abraza. No se contenta con parte, a todos habla, a todos enseña y a todos consuela y, como tal, de todos es querido.²⁴

And, as promised, the collection of 52 letters is divided into seven books. The first is "del estado común", the second "del estado eclesiástico", the third "del estado heremítico", the fourth "del estado virginal", the fifth "del estado penitente o vidual", the sixth "del estado conjugal", and the last "del estado consolatorio". The 164 letters in Avila's *Epistolario espiritual* are ordered in the same way.²⁵ It consists of four "tratados". The first is "para prelados, sacerdotes, curas de almas,

²⁴St Jerome, *Epístolas*, selected and translated by Juan de Molina (Valencia: Juan Jofre, 1526), p. 2 verso. I have modernized spelling and punctuation.

²⁵Juan de Avila, *Epistolario espiritual*, in the *Epistolario español*, vol. I, pp. 295-462.

predicadores y religiosos", the second "para religiosas y doncellas", the third "para señoras de título, casadas y viudas, y para otras ilustres y particulares", and the fourth is "para caballeros y señores de título, y unos discípulos suyos." To judge from their titles, the collections of Juan de Dios, Juan de Jesús María and Fray Francisco de León were probably ordered in the same way and exhibited the same function.

The principal function of the third kind of collection is entertainment. Whereas the second kind obtained considerable publishing success in the sixteenth century, this kind flourished in manuscript in the century before. And because of its transmission in manuscript, this kind consists of numerous anthologies of letters by different authors rather than collections mostly by a single author. This kind could be described as parasitic for it tends to exist within or beside or between other texts. It consists of small numbers of letters and speeches by authors such as Pere Torroella, Gómez Manrique and Santillana, included in *cancioneros* and in codices. Perusal of *Boost3* reveals that the same or similar letters, speeches and treatises are frequently copied into codices to fill up space between or at the end of texts of more bulky and important works.

The first seven items in the *Cancionero de Herberay des Essarts* is an anthology of this kind.²⁶ The first consists of a speech by Lucretia and her father's reply when she is on the point of committing suicide. The second is Rodriguez del Padrón's pseudo-Ovidian *Epístola de Madreselva a Mausol*. The third is a translation of a letter sent by the Scythians to Alexander, extracted, according to Aubrun (p. 207), from the *Bocados de oro* and ultimately derived from the pseudo-Callisthenes' history of Alexander of Macedon. The fourth is a lament on the death of Inés de Cleves written by Pere Torroella. The fifth is a lament on the condition of Spain written by Santillana. The sixth is a collection of "Leyes de amor". And the seventh is Pere Torroella's "Razonamiento en deffensión de las donas." Other *cancioneros* which include substantial numbers of prose items are those of Juan de Ixar, Martínez de Burgos and Estúñiga.

Closely related to anthologies in these *cancioneros* is Fernando de la Torre's

²⁶ *Le chansonnier espagnol d'Herberay des Essarts (XVe siècle)*, edited with an introduction by Charles V. Aubrun, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Hispaniques, fasc. XX-2 (Bordeaux: Férét et fils, 1951).

Libro de las veynte cartas e quistiones.²⁷ In fact it includes, inspite of the title, thirty nine letters, many of which are pairs of questions and answers. Most of the twenty "quistiones" are ethical. Only a few are religious. Examples would be the letters in chapter five on the reward for those who turn away from this world, and in chapter eight in which fray Alvaro de Zamora exhorts la Torre to become a monk. The ethical value of most of the letters is secular. Examples would be letters on friendship in chapters three and eight, on reactions to misfortune in chapter six, on the need for young men to study in chapter nine and on the duty of the soldier in chapter eighteen. The ethical value of the letter collection is indirect. An ethos is presented as respectable, as normal rather than normative. Several of the letters are causes, petitions exhorting him to lead, one way or another, a more virtuous life. Examples would be the anonymous woman's letter in chapter five, Alvaro de Zamora's in chapter seven and the abbot of San Quinze's in chapter sixteen.

If these are the three principal kinds of letter collection in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is easy to find ones that constitute mixtures of two or more of them. The pseudepigraphic *Epistolae* attributed to Phalaris, the first letter collection published in Spain (at Valencia, c. 1475, and twice republished at the same place in 1496), is a mixture of an autobiographical and a moral collection.²⁸ The *Epistolae magni turcis*, a fictitious collection of letters to and from Mohammed II written by Laudivius Zacchia which obtained a considerable publishing success in Italy in the fifteenth century and which was brought out at Saragossa in the early 1480s and again at Lérida in 1490, exhibits a similar mixture

²⁷I have used the edition by Maria Jesús Díez Garretas in her *La obra literaria de Fernando de la Torre* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1983). A footnote to the prologue of the collection suggests that it must have been composed sometime between 1434 and 1479 (p. 101). Díez Garretas dates the manuscript at around the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century.

²⁸I have examined a seventeenth century English translation: *The Epistles of Phalaris, the Tyrant of Agrigentum in Sicily*, translated by W.D. (William Drummond?) (London: Richard Badger, 1634).

of biographical and moral functions.²⁹

Pulgar's *Letras* is a collection which exhibits all three functions. The ethical value of the collection is determined by letters such as the admonitory one to his daughter (XXIII) and the three consolatory ones (II, VII & XIX). The autobiographical value of the collection is determined by suasory and news letters such as those to Alfonso Carrillo (III & VI). The first letter, a humorous polemical refutation of the arguments in favour of old age deduced by Cicero in the *De senectute* is an example of a letter whose value is purely that of entertainment. The letters to Enríque Enríquez (X, XVI and XXXII) are likewise only of entertainment value.

The speeches and the first twelve letters in the *Libro áureo* resemble the letters in moral letter collections. The second speech, delivered to the nine tutors, about how to educate Commodus, the third, to the relatives of a prospective son-in-law, about taking quick decisions on important issues, the fourth, about the need for rulers to love their subjects and the seventh, to his favourites, friends and doctors, about the need for rulers to study, these are all discourse equivalent to admonitory letters in moral letter collections. They might be compared to the second book of Molina's selection of Saint Jerome's letters, which is concerned with the "estado ecclesiástico". The first item (ff. 47r-55v) is a letter to Rusticus admonishing him to be humble, just and peaceful. The second (ff. 55v-72v) is a treatise by Saint Augustine on how priests should carry out their duties. And the two other letters (ff. 72v-82v) in this book, addressed to Nepotianus and Oceanus, are also admonitions to priests about carrying out their duties. The second letter in Francisco Ortiz's collection is an admonition addressed to "una hermana" about how to serve God (pp. 251-60). And the first two letters in the first "tratado" of Juan de Avila's collection, both addressed to Pedro Guerrero, the archbishop of Granada, are about how to govern the Church (pp. 295-7). The third is addressed to "un prelado de Granada". It consists of advice on preaching.

²⁹I have examined an anonymous seventeenth-century English translation: *The Turkes Secretarie. Containing His Syndrie Letters Sent to diuers Emperours, Kings, Princes and States, full of proud bragges, and bloody threatenings: With seuerall Answers to the same, both pithie and peremptorie* (London: M.B., 1607), The English Experience series, no. 263 (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum; New York: Da Capo Press, 1970).

All of these letter collections are full of admonitory and exhortatory letters, discourse which resembles the speeches and letters in the *Libro áureo*.

There is no need to go into great detail, to show that the same arguments are advanced in the speeches and letters and in the letters in these collections. The preponderance of admonitions, exhortations and consolations indicated by my description of the work at the beginning of Chapter One is obvious enough. And such discourse is precisely the kind that one might expect in a text titled the "Libro áureo".

Nor is there any need to do much more than note the resemblance of the last seven letters to discourse in sentimental romance. Marcus' letter to the Roman prostitutes includes arguments advanced by the Madrina in *Triste deleytación* (pp. 58-105) and by Torroella in *Grisel y Mirabella* (pp. 66-8, 70-1, 73-4 & 75-7). The correspondence between Marcus and Bohemia resembles the angry exchange between Fiometa and Pamphilo in *Grimalte y Gradissa* (pp. 32-42) and Madreselva's letter to Mauseol in the *Bursario*. Letters Sixteen, Seventeen and Eighteen are love letters of a sort which can be found in almost any sentimental romance.

It might be objected that these letters do not resemble sentimental romance so much as an erotic letter collection. Yet such collections do not seem to have been made for publication in print. Doubtless love-letters were kept in archives and perhaps circulated in manuscript. Yet love-letters published in print tend to include those of both the lover and the beloved, to be distributed in chronological order and, with the exception of the *Proceso de cartas de amores*, to be included with passages of narrative. This is the case even for the *Cartas y coplas para requerir nuevos amores*, a collection whose principal function is to teach. The only erotic collection to my knowledge is the *Bursario*.

The last letter is a consolation on an unspecified misfortune. In his article "Antonio de Guevara y Diego de San Pedro: Las «cartas de amores» del «Marco Aurelio»", Redondo shows that four passages of the letter are taken from a speech in *Arnalte y Lucinda* in which Belisa consoles her brother on his sorrow, the cause of which she does not yet know.³⁰ Consolatory speeches and letters are not

³⁰ Augustin Redondo, "Antonio de Guevara y Diego de San Pedro: Las «cartas de amores» del «Marco Aurelio»", *Bulletin hispanique* LXXVIII (1976), pp. 238-9.

unusual in sentimental romance. Grimalte consoles Fiometa after she is rejected by Pamphilo (pp. 48-51). "Ho. Orz." consoles the lover at the end of the *Proceso de cartas de amores* and sends him a copy of another sentimental romance.³¹ And, in an interesting inversion of the usual relationship, the "auctor" of Núñez's continuation of the *Cárcel de amor*, lamenting the sad ending of San Pedro's narrative, is consoled by the unfortunate lover himself.³²

The arguments advanced in these consolations are of a most general kind and can also be found in consolatory letters in moral letter collections. Consequently the last letter joins the discourse of moral letter collection to that of sentimental romance.

³¹ Juan de Segura, *Proceso de cartas de amores*, edited with a translation by E.B. Place (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1950), pp. 89-91.

³² Nicolás Núñez, *Cárcel de amor*, in *Dos opúsculos isabelinos*, edited with an introduction by Keith Whinnom (Exeter: University of Exeter, Exeter Hispanic Texts, 1979), pp. 59-61.

Chapter 5

Novel

In "Crítica guevariana", a review of *Guevara et l'Espagne*, Márquez Villanueva cites as contemporary testimony against Redondo's argument that the *Libro áureo* and the *Relox de príncipes* are ethical didactic works, a passage from Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga's *Fastiginia o fastos geniales* about a certain preacher at the court at Valladolid at the beginning of the seventeenth century:

Fábula, finalmente, el Marco Aurelio del Embajador de las grajas, estorninos, papagayos y canarios, el parlador mayor D. Antonio de Guevara, mas en ella, queriéndonos pintar un emperador justo y prudente, nos pinta un emperador chocarrero y un filósofo y charlatán; y poco menos aconteció a nuestro predicador, que me dejó molido.¹

Both Pinheiro da Veiga and, by citing him, Márquez Villanueva mistake Guevara for the biographer. There is a great difference between the two, equivalent to that between the narrator and the author of a novel. The biographer is anxious to show that his subject is virtuous. Guevara, in contrast, organises the work so that the subject is eventually exposed as a hypocrite. In fact the author and the reader are mediated by much more than the discourse of the biographer and his subject. Not forgetting a number of references to the preservation of the subject's writing (and reputation) by his sons-in-law, mention of a history in which the life of the subject together with a letter was found and a certain text rediscovered among the books left by Cosimo de' Medici, there are three ancient biographies, a series of translations and a compendium of them between the reader and the author. In practice most of these are either fictitious or operative in the first few chapters only. The most important difference is between the biographer and the author. To make that difference obvious is to defend the latter from accusations of fraud, carelessness and ignorance and, what is much more important, to understand how the work is constructed.

In its use of more or less fictitious authors the *Libro áureo* somewhat resembles *Don Quijote*. Yet I want to leave that resemblance to one side and concentrate on a much more fundamental resemblance to two other novels,

¹Cited by Márquez Villanueva, p. 351.

Lazarillo de Tormes and the *Viaje de Turquía*.

The principal structures of the *Libro áureo* are organised so that they successively call each other into question. The assumption that the work is a biography of Marcus Aurelius which includes many of his speeches and letters is replaced by doubt that this is the case and, eventually, by certainty that it is not. In the last six letters Marcus is exposed as a hypocrite. The conclusive argument, therefore, is that since he cannot be regarded as a proper model for Carlos, the work is not what it initially seems. Doubt, however, that Marcus is indeed virtuous, that the biography is indeed reconstructed from classical texts and even that Carlos should indeed model himself on anyone is introduced long before this. Although they show that Marcus is quite different from what he seems, letters thirteen to eighteen do not thwart all expectations. They confirm what is long since suspected -albeit in a somewhat unexpected fashion.

The organisation of the principal structures in order to move the reader from an assumption that the work is truthful discourse, through uncertainty until eventually it is realised that it is fiction also occurs in *Lazarillo de Tormes* and in the *Viaje de Turquía*. In his essay "Lázaro de Tormes y el lugar de la novela", Francisco Rico argues that the innocent reader of the middle of the sixteenth century would initially mistake the work for truthful discourse. Only once the exact nature of the "caso" was understood would the reader realise that a deception had been practised on him or her momentarily:

el autor del *Lazarillo* aspiraba a hacer al lector víctima de una superchería. Una superchería con matices, una superchería irónica y para bien, pero superchería al cabo.²

A similar deception is practised on the reader by the author of the *Viaje de Turquía*. In her *Un estudio del "Viaje de Turquía": autobiografía o ficción* Marie-Sol Ortola argues that by presenting fiction as autobiography the author of the work deceives the reader in order to put across a moral and political message:

²Francisco Rico, "Lázaro de Tormes y el lugar de la novela", in his *Problemas del «Lazarillo»* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1988), p. 155.

A fines morales y recapitulativos se nos describe la historia de un cristiano recuperado, unos monjes griegos, los turcos, unos españoles corruptos con deseo de mejorarse. La veracidad del elemento histórico se apoya sobre la inmersión del personaje en la historia de los tiempos. Lo ficticio toma así el cariz de lo verídico. Lo esencial ha sido producir un sistema lingüístico específico que nos convenciera del carácter veraz de la autobiografía. Desde luego, la legitimación de la obra como autobiografía queda suspensa por el cotejo de ésta con las crónicas que se han plagiado. En este sentido el *Viaje* se insere en una tradición de escritores-falsificadores que se remonta a la Edad Media.³

And she goes on to adduce the *Libro áureo* as an example of a "falsificación histórica" in this tradition.

It is possible to perceive certain more or less superficial resemblances between *Lazarillo de Tormes* and the *Viaje de Turquía*. In the latter, as Ortolá makes clear (pp. 38-47), anonymity is essential for the deception. In the former the deception is achieved by making the work apocryphal, as Rico notes (p. 157). The latter includes fictitious autobiography. The former is one. And in both cases *The Golden Ass* was influential. Both works too make great use of folklore. The interlocutors in the *Viaje* are figures from folklore. And what happens to Lázaro resembles what happens to figures from folklore. Yet comparison of such things does not really bring out the resemblance of the two works. Nor are their principal structures the same. *Lazarillo de Tormes* is an exculpatory letter in which a number of folk tales are intercalated. The *Viaje de Turquía* is a dialogue in which one of the interlocutors reproduces data from genuine records of life in Turkey and Greece. The fundamental similarity between these two works is the fashion in which the principal structures are put together to deceive the reader momentarily into believing that he is reading truthful discourse. And it is in this respect that the *Libro áureo* resembles both of them. In this chapter I wish to show that the principal structures which I have identified are put together and presented in a fashion which momentarily deceives the reader. It is by virtue of this resemblance to *Lazarillo de Tormes* and the *Viaje de Turquía* that the work deserves to be awarded the status of a primitive novel.

Certainty that the work is not a biography of Marcus Aurelius is preceded by

³Marie-Sol Ortolá, *Un estudio del "Viaje de Turquía: autobiografía o ficción"* (London: Tamesis, 1983), pp. 36-7.

three moments of doubt. The prologue raises the issue of whether Carlos should imitate the subject of the biography to follow. And the translator's note raises the issue of whether the pagan subject's ethic is still valuable. The first four chapters raise the issue of whether the work is a biography. The rest of Book One and the first twelve letters of Book Two raise the issue of whether the subject is virtuous. The last six letters, by confirming that he is not and that this is not a biography, and, hence, that Carlos should not imitate him in any straightforward fashion and, likewise, that his ethic is not valuable in any straightforward fashion, raise the issue of what the *Libro áureo* is, what function it exhibits. The most appropriate method to show this is to make a commentary, concentrating on four moments in the work: the prologue and the translator's note; Chapter One; the rest of Book One and the first twelve letters of Book Two; and finally the last seven letters.

The prologue and the translator's note render the *Libro áureo*'s genre -and hence, perhaps, its status as fact or fiction- uncertain from the very beginning. The prologue begins with a long argument that suggests that what follows is a biography of Marcus Aurelius written by Guevara. It is followed, and supported, however, by arguments that suggest that it is a translation of an ancient work of moral value. This is followed by an account of the making of the translation, its dedication to Carlos V, an acknowledgement of the faults in it and a petition that they be overlooked. In a variety of fashions, however, each of these passages subverts assurance that the text to follow is a translation. *Argumento* usually designates a narrative or plot summary. Instead of this, however, the translator's note begins with a long argument usual in translations of pagan works of moral value. This is followed by the naming of the work by the translator, which is, of course, very unusual, if not unknown, in translations. The acknowledgement of faults, the excuse for them and the argument to prevent adverse criticism which follows this are usual in authorial prefaces, not those by translators. And the implied author next indicates that what follows is not a translation, but a compendium of three ancient biographies of Marcus Aurelius. The translator's note closes, however, with a note about the method adopted for the translation. The very succession of contradictions and inconsistencies raises uncertainty about the truthfulness of the discourse.

Uncertainty about the *Libro áureo*'s genre exists even before the prologue and translator's note, that is, at the very margins of the text in the title, incipits and epigraphs. The work is titled in the Escorial manuscript "La vida de Marco Aurelio emperador por fray Antonio de Guevara". Yet the incipit of the prologue suggests that the text is not a biography, but a translation by Guevara of a work of moral and historical value:

Comiença el prologo [...] embiado por fray Antonio de Guevara [...] sobre la translaçion que hizo de griego en latin, de latin en romance, al libro llamado aureo, el qual habla delos tiempos de Marco Aurelio, decimo septimo emperador de Roma. (p. 6)

The epigraph of the translator's note suggests that the text translated is a work of multiple authorship:

Siguiese el argumento del interprete, enel qual declara quienes fueron los escriptores de este libro, y como hasta este tiempo a estado occulto, y con quanta sollicitud porel dicho padre fray Antonio de Gueuara fue buscado. (p. 15)

Yet the incipit of the text itself suggests that it is not a translation, but a history of Marcus Aurelius' reign by Guevara based on ancient sources:

Comiença el libro llamado aureo, que tracta delos tiempos de Marco Aurelio, decimo septimo emperador de Roma, sacado de muchas antiguas historiadores, corregido, emendado, y en suaue estilo puesto por el reuerendo padre fray Antonio de Gueuara [...] enel qual libro se contienen muy exçellentes doctrinas morales y peregrinas historias. (p. 29)

Uncertainty about the work's genre is not at all diminished in the printed editions. The work is titled "Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio Emperador y eloquentissimo orador" which suggests, especially since Guevara's name is not mentioned on the title page or anywhere else in the epitext, that what follows is a translation of a work of moral value by Marcus Aurelius. The prologue and its incipit and the epigraph of the translator's note included in the Escorial manuscript are not in the printed editions. The translator's note is retitled "Prologo". The incipit of the text itself suggests that what follows is not a translation of a work of moral value by Marcus Aurelius, but a biography of him which includes a selection of his letters:

Comiença el libro dela vida: nobles y virtuosos exercicios, profundas y altas sentencias del eloquentissimo Marco aurelio emperador. assi mesmo de algunas cartas suyas dignas de salir a luz [...]

Anyone who has not heard of or read about the *Libro áureo* previously might well begin, after leafing through either a manuscript or a printed copy, wondering what it is.

The prologue and translator's note are not comparable in detail to the prefaces to other sixteenth century Spanish fiction. By pretending to present, first, a translation of a work by Marcus Aurelius and, second, a compendium of the biographies of him by Junius Rusticus, Cina Catulus and Sextus of Chaeronea, Guevara denies himself his true status as the author of what follows. This is what Gérard Genette terms "une préface auctorial dénégative", one of four fictional types of preface identified by him in *Seuils*, an anatomy of all the discourse which surrounds and abuts texts.⁴ This type of preface is common in seventeenth and early eighteenth century prose fiction -especially epistolary novels such as *Pamela*, *Werther* and *Les Liasons Dangereuses*, in which the author claims to have done nothing more than edit packets of letters which have come into his possession. It is very unusual and perhaps unique in sixteenth century Spanish prose fiction. There are analogies, however, in *Don Quijote* and certain romances of chivalry. The fictitious account of the origin of the three biographies in the translator's note is briefly compared to similar accounts of the origin of certain romances of chivalry by Lida (p. 363) and Jones (p. 38), with the implication that the work's status as fiction is obvious and certain by the end of the translator's note. Disregarding for the moment the difference between the origin of the three biographies and those of romances of chivalry, the prologue and the translator's note is a much more elaborate fiction. The prefaces of certain romances of chivalry include a brief, fictitious account of the origin of the text and its several translations towards the end of an otherwise serious, if hardly persuasive, argument about the moral value of what follows. The prologue and the translator's note of the *Libro áureo*, in contrast, closely resembles prefaces to fifteenth and sixteenth century Spanish translations of classical texts.

⁴Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris: Seuil, 1987), pp. 257-61.

The prologue and translator's note consist of a mixture of arguments. Some are usual in authorial and some in translator's prefaces. This mixture introduces doubt about the genre and status as fact or fiction of the text which follows. It is true that a few arguments are common to both types of preface. Moreover it is not difficult to trace the genealogy of these arguments and assertions, noting the resemblance of the citations from prefaces to translations grouped by theme in the second part of Theodore S. Beardsley's "Hispano-Classical Translations Printed between 1482 and 1699: A Study of the Prologues and a Critical Bibliography" to the four "tópicos principales" and also some of the "características" of authorial prefaces to Golden Age works selected for comment by A. Porqueras Mayo in *El prólogo como género literario: su estudio en el Siglo de Oro español* and, ultimately, of the arguments of both types of preface to the four exordial commonplaces of Roman and mediaeval literature selected as examples by Ernst Robert Curtius in *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*.⁵ Yet to minimize the differences in this fashion would be to ignore the doubt introduced from the very beginning.

The separation of the preface into two discourses, the first addressed to Carlos V, the dedicatee, and the second to the reader, is itself a sign that what follows is a translation of a long, valuable classical text, not prose fiction. Until the middle of the sixteenth century prose fiction is usually prefaced by discourse addressed to the dedicatee alone. Issues worth argument by the author directly to the reader are not raised by prose fiction. At most there is an *argumento*, a summary of the narrative to follow which is not addressed to the dedicatee. Translations made in or before the fifteenth century, are also usually prefaced by discourse addressed to the dedicatee alone. Such is the case for Pero López de Ayala's version of Livy, made in 1401, Mossen Ugo de Urriés's version of Valerius Maximus, made in 1467, and Alfonso Fernández de Palencia's version of the *Parallel Lives*, first

⁵Theodore S. Beardsley, "Hispano-Classical Translations Printed between 1482 and 1699: A Study of the Prologues and a Critical Bibliography", Ph.D., diss., Pennsylvania, 1961, pp. 140-213. A. Porqueras Mayo, *El prólogo como género literario: su estudio en el Siglo de Oro español* (Madrid: CSIC, 1957), pp. 140-5. Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, translated by Willard R. Trask (London & Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953), pp. 85-9.

published in 1491.⁶ The lack of prefaces addressed to the reader in these cases, however, is probably attributable to the fact that the notion of the reader -as opposed to that of a number of readers- had not come into being. In the sixteenth century translations of long and valuable classical texts are usually prefaced by two discourses, the first addressed to the dedicatee, the second to the reader. Such is the case for Pedro de la Vega's translation of Livy, first published in 1520, which is prefaced by not only a dedication to Carlos V, but also a prologue and notes on the translator's method and on the miraculous addressed to the reader.⁷ Diego Gracián de Alderete's translation of a large selection of Plutarch's *Moralia*, first published in 1548, is prefaced not only by discourse addressed to the dedicatee, Carlos V again, but also by a long "prologo y declaracion en todas las obras morales" addressed "al lector".⁸ Translations of classical texts of slight length or value, however, even in the sixteenth century, are usually prefaced by discourse addressed to the dedicatee alone. Gracián's translation of Plutarch's *Apophthegms*, first published in 1533, which is the first work included in his translation of the *Moralia*, and the anonymous translation of the same author's treatise against greed, published in 1538 and attributed by Beardsley to Alonso Ruiz de Virués, are each prefaced by discourse addressed to the dedicatee alone.⁹

The preface addressed to the dedicatee usually consists of much more than the dedication -which is why I do not refer to it as the dedication or the

⁶Pero López de Ayala (trans.), *Las décadas de Tito Livio: edición crítica de los libros I a III*, with an introduction and notes by Curt J. Wittlin (Barcelona: Puvill, 1984), vol. I, pp. 215-20. Valerius Maximus, *Las rúbricas*, translated by Mossen Ugo de Urriés (Saragossa: n.i., 1495), sigs. +iiir-+vr. Plutarch, *Las vidas*, translated by Alfonso Fernández de Palencia (Seville: Paulo de Colonia, Johannes de Nurenberg, Magno y Thomas Allemanes, [1491]), f. 2. All citations are to these editions.

⁷See Beardsley, diss., pp. 145-6 and p. 167.

⁸Plutarch, *Morales*, translated by Diego Gracián de Alderete (Alcalá: Juan de Brocar, 1548), sigs. aaiiir-bbiiir. All citations are from this edition.

⁹Plutarch, *Apophthegmas*, translated by Diego Gracián de Alderete (Alcalá: Miguel de Eguía, 1533), sigs. aiv-aiir. Theodore S. Beardsley, "An Unexamined Translation of Plutarch: *Libro contra la cobdicia delas riquezas* (Valladolid, 1538)," *Hispanic Review* 41 (1973), pp. 175-6.

dedicatory letter.¹⁰ The dedication is usually preceded by an argument that the work translated is valuable. In prefaces addressed to the dedicatee alone this argument is usually that the work is generally valuable to any reader. In prefaces which include discourse addressed to the reader the argument is usually that the work is especially valuable to the dedicatee. The dedication is usually followed by acknowledgement of the faults in the translation together with whatever excuse the translator may have for them. Somewhere in the preface there is often a brief account of the genesis or making of the translation. The preface usually closes, like those to a multitude of other kinds of discourse, with an expression of goodwill.

The preface addressed to the reader may also begin with an argument that the work translated is valuable. And it may also include acknowledgement and excuses for the faults in the translation together with some argument to prevent adverse criticism. It may also include an account of the genesis of the translation. It usually closes with notices of the method adopted by the translator and of any changes to the work which may have been introduced in the course of translation.

The prologue begins with an argument that Carlos should imitate Marcus Aurelius: everyone wants to be famous and Carlos is obliged to surpass all his predecessors in this, but since he cannot compete with all of them, he should imitate only the best, Marcus Aurelius (pp. 6-13). This is not one of the usual arguments of prefaces to translations.

Arguments about the value of the work translated are determined by its generic affinity. History is principally valued as a source of real *exempla* about government, generalship and citizenship. Argumentative discourse is valued principally as exhortation to or admonition about virtuous behaviour. Poetry,

¹⁰This is true, it seems to me, of prefaces not only to translations, but to a great variety of works of the early sixteenth century and before. From this moment on, however, the material in the preface to the dedicatee is gradually transferred to that addressed to the reader. The former is reduced to little or nothing more than the dedication itself and eventually to the name of the dedicatee preceded by either 'to' or 'for'. This perhaps explains both Porqueras Mayo's decision to ignore *dedicatorias* in *El prólogo como género literario* (p. 105) and his other studies of this subject and Genette's assertion that the dedication is nothing more than "l'affiche (sincère ou non) d'une relation (d'une sorte ou d'une autre) entre l'auteur et quelque personne, groupe ou entité." (p. 126) Beardsley, in contrast, cites prefaces addressed to the dedicatee and to the reader regarding both as the prologue.

drama and narrative fiction are valued principally as an entertaining presentation of admonitions about virtuous behaviour. The distortion of meaning involved in these evaluations of classical texts is not peculiar to Spanish translators of the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Douglas Bush in his *Classical Influences in Renaissance Literature* comments:

For serious humanists in the 16th century, as in the 12th, even the ancient writers of licentious comedy and satire contained moral instruction, somewhat obliquely presented, and the philosophers -Plato, Cicero, and Seneca in particular- had, through the limited but divine light of natural reason, come close to Christian ideals of righteousness. on the fusion of pagan wisdom with Christianity one could quote countless moving testimonies, from some of the Church Fathers to Petrarch and Erasmus ... to Milton.¹¹

Not only collections of real *exempla* such as Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia* and Julius Frontinus' *Strategemata*, but also history and biography are valued as sources of real *exempla*. In the preface to his translation of Livy, la Vega asserts that

el nuestro gran César leera en que manera el emperador se ha de regir y gobernar assi en tiempo de paz como de guerra [...] como a exemplo de los Romanos ha de perdonar a los vencidos y quebrantados, dar favor a los pequeños, defender a los pupillos, resistir a los sobervios, vengar la fuerça hecha a las mujeres, desterrar las trahiciones, penar los homicidios, hazer los caminos seguros de ladrones, y castigar todos los vicios, ser amigo de la religion, devoto a los templos, firme en el juramento y palabra real, dulce y affable a los suyos, terrible a los malos, favorecedor de los buenos, premiador de los que ponen sus fuerças por defension de su ley, rey, y patria. (Beardsley, pp. 144 & 150)

In the preface addressed to Juan de Tovar of his translation of Appian's history of the Civil Wars, first published in 1536, Diego de Salazar argues that the work is proof that

¹¹ Douglas Bush, *Classical Influences in Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 25.

todos los reynos y republicas que han procurado de poner en sus guernaciones hombres bien doctrinados an siempre biuido debaxo del yugo de las leyes en paz y concordia. Y por el contrario lo que an admitido en el govierno de sus ciudades y provincias hombres indoctos y ambiciosos y que antes an procurado el interesse proprio que la voluntad publica, las mas vezes an sido causa de su total destruycion.¹²

Knowing this "se desprecian los vicios y aman las virtudes mayormente la justicia como regla y balança del derecho y honesto vivir." (ibid.) Jorge de Bustamante attests that he made his translation of Justin's epitome of Trogus Pompeius "para que a exemplo de los hechos passados supiesen los principes govnar sus pueblos en paz y concordia y en las guerras regir sus exercitos y accaudillar sus gentes." (Beardsley, p. 151)

Not only exhortatory and admonitory discourse such as Cicero's dialogues *De officiis* and *De senectute*, Seneca's *Epistolae ad Lucilium* and the *De vita beata* and the *Proverbia Senecae*, but also moral philosophy, treatment of practical matters and even drama are principally valued as exhortations to and admonitions about virtuous behaviour. Carlos the prince of Viana calls Aristotle's ethics the "sciencia de la virtud" in the preface to his translation of the work (Beardsley, p. 119). And the Bachiller de la Torre, in the preface to his abridgement of the same work, asserts that it shows "como ha de moderar los apetitos y passiones y como alcançara los habitos medios que son llamados virtudes." (Beardsley, p. 121) Although Gracián divides his selection of the *Moralia* into historical and political as well as moral works, he asserts that the whole is a "libro vtil para la virtud y buenas costumbres." (sig. aaiii recto)

Not only Aesop's *Fables*, but also narrative verse is valuable as moral parables and allegory. In the preface to his translation of the *Georgics*, first published in 1496, Juan del Encina asserts that Virgil "debaxo de aquella corteza y rustica simplicidad: puso sentencias muy altas y alegoricos sentidos" (Beardsley, p. 126). And in the preface to his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, first published in 1543, Jorge de Bustamante asserts that the intention of the author and of other "excelentes Filósofos y Poetas" such as Hesiod, Archilocus, Horace, Menander,

¹²Appian, *Historia de todas las guerras civiles que uvo entre los romanos*, translated by Diego de Salazar (Alcalá: Miguel de Eguía, 1536), sig. + recto. All citations from this edition.

Aesop, Apuleius and Cebes was "mostrar prudentemente vivir [... con] escondida moralidad y provechosa doctrina" (Beardsley, p. 147). In the preface to his translation of the *Aeneid*, first published in 1555, Gregorio de Hernández asserts that the work is "un abysmo profundísimo de doctrina [...] Porque la alegoría de Virgilio es una abreviadora de todas [las escritas de Platón, Aristoteles, Séneca, Plutarcho, y los demás Philosophos]" (Beardsley, p. 176).

The argument with which the prologue begins is not usual in prefaces to translations. It is -to reduce it to the minor premiss and conclusion- that, since he wishes to surpass all his predecessors in fame after his death, Carlos should imitate the behaviour of the best of them, Marcus Aurelius:

Ha sido mi intención, serenísimo príncipe, persuadirlos a imitar y seguir, no a todos, no a muchos, no a pocos, sino a vno, y si a vno a este solo Marco Aurelio, con las virtudes del qual igualaron pocos o ninguno. A este noble Emperador tome V.M. por ayo en su moçedad, por padre en su gouernacion, por adalid en sus guerras, por guion en sus jornadas, por amigo en sus trabajos, por exemplo en sus virtudes, por maestro en sus sciencias, por blanco en sus deseos, y por competidor en sus hazañas [...] Veed, serenísimo príncipe, la vida de este príncipe, y vereis quan claro fue su juicio, quan recta su iusticia, quan recatado en su vida, quan agradescido a sus amigos, quan sufrido con sus enemigos, quan seuro con los tyrannos, quan paçifico con los paçificos, quan amigo de sabios y quan emulo de simples, quan venturoso en sus guerras y quan amigable en las pazes, quan alto en sus palabras y quan profundo en sus sentençias. (pp. 13-4)

Statements of intent by translators are not merely unusual, but probably quite unknown. A translator, after all, can have no intention other than that of faithfully rendering a text -and thus carrying into effect its author's intention- in another language. Translators often state the intention of the author. The statement is one of the commonplaces of the *accessus ad auctor*. The preface to each of the *Heroides* translated by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón ends with a statement of Ovid's intention.¹³ In the "introducción" to his translation of Seneca's *De vita beata*, Alonso de Cartagena states that "la intención principal deste libro, es prouar que esta bienauenturança y soberano bien que los hombres dessean esta

¹³Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, *Bursaria*, edited with an introduction and notes by Pilar Saquero Suárez-Somonte and Tomás González Rolan (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1984).

puesta en la virtud."¹⁴ In the preface to his translation of Livy la Vega states that "el fin deste illustre varon en esta su obra fue el provecho y aviso de los que tienen el regimiento de la republica." (Beardsley, p. 156)

The statement of intention is not merely an unusual expression for a proposition usual in prefaces to translations. To my knowledge no fifteenth or sixteenth century Spanish translation of an ancient biography includes in its preface an argument that the dedicatee or reader should imitate the behaviour of the subject. Translators sometimes praise the subject of biographies. Gabriel de Castañeda, in the preface to his translation of Quintus Curtius Rufus, first published in 1534, comments:

Quatro cosas [...] tuvo este magnanimo principe [...] gran fuerça y rezura en el cuerpo [...] valeroso esfuerço e invictissima animosidad en el corazon [...] magnificentissima liberalidad [...] destrissima y acutissima industria en las cosas de la guerra.
(Beardsley, p. 144)

And Gonzalo Pérez, in the preface to his translation of the *Odyssey*, first published in 1550, notes that "Homero pinta a Ulyses varon discreto y moral, prudente en los consejos, avisado en los peligros, sufrido en los trabajos." (Beardsley, p. 143)

Although the notion that people can be persuaded to imitate -and, equally, dissuaded from imitating- the behaviour of those of whom they read can be traced through a great variety of Renaissance literature, arguments that a reader should imitate the behaviour of the subject are, I suspect, proper to prefaces to hagiography.

The argument with which the prologue begins, that everyone wants to be famous, is a major premiss of the argument that Carlos should imitate the behaviour of Marcus. It is also an argument, however, that no one should want to be famous. Consequently the argument that Carlos should imitate Marcus also urges him to do the very opposite.

¹⁴The translation is included in *Los cinco libros de Seneca* (Alcalá: Miguel de Eguía, 1530), fol. ii, verso.

In the very first period Guevara states that: "la mayor vanidad que hallo entre los hijos de vanidad es, no contentos ser vanos en la vida, procurar aya memoria de sus vanidades despues de la muerte." (p. 6). He goes on to prove, first, that this is the most common vanity by giving the reason with which "los hijos de vanidad" would justify their behaviour and, second, that this justification is irrational, folly. The justification is that "pues estando en la carne, al mundo sirvieron con obras, desde la sepultura le offrezcan a mas no poder sus voluntades." This argument is taken to its logical yet absurd conclusion: "los tales, [...] si el mundo les diera perpetua vida, para siempre ellos permanescieran en su locura" because "todo el tiempo que naturaleza los tuuo en esta vida sin occuparse en otra cosa, en seruicio del mundo emplearon la vida." (p. 7) If they were immortal there would be no reason to seek immortality. Guevara admits that "los que son del mundo, biuiendo en el mundo, no es mucho que siruan al mundo", but when they die, or rather when they remember that they are to die, it is high time that they occupied themselves with something else, with -the opposite is obvious- procuring the salvation of their souls by serving God: "lo que nos escandaliza es, porque despues que les atajo los passos la muerte, sin que tome gusto la carne, quieren oler ala vanidad del mundo en la sepultura."

Although the justification for attempting to procure remembrance of oneself is absurd, everyone attempts it: "no se suffre que vean todos el fin de nuestra vida, y ninguno jamas vea el fin de nuestra locura." There are three proofs of this. The first is the real *exemplum* of Julius Caesar:

Tranquillo cuenta que estando Iulio Cesar, vltimo Dictador y primero Emperador, en la vltior España en la çidad de Gades (que agora llamamos Caliz), mirando en el templo esculpida la imagen del magno Alexandro y sus victorias, dio delo intimo del coraçon vn suspiro; y preguntado porque sospiraua, respondio: «O triste de mi! que, en los treinta años de la edad que yo tengo agora, ya tenia Alexandro sojuzgada toda la tierra, y estaua descansando en Babilonia. Yo, siendo Romano, ni he hecho cosa porque merezca gloria en la vida, ni dexe fama despues de mi muerte.»

The second proof is the real *exemplum* and authority of Germanicus:

Aulo Gellio, en el libro de las noches Athicas, dize que el noble Germanico, preguntado porque primero la sepultura de Scipion yua a visitar antes que a alguna guerra se huuiese de partir, respondio: «Visito la sepultura de Scipion muerto, delante el qual temblaua la tierra siendo biuo, porque mirando su ventura cobro esfuerço y osadia. Y digo mas: gran animo pone a herir en los enemigos tener memoria que ha de dexar de si memoria en los siglos aduenideros.»

The third proof is the authority of an unnamed Theban:

Dize Çiçeron, en su Rhetorica, que vino dende las Thebas de Egypto vn cauallero a Roma, solo por ver si era verdad lo que dezian de Roma. Preguntado por Meçenas que era lo que sentia, respondio: «Mas me contenta la memoria que ay de los passados que no la gloria que tienen los presentes; y la causa de esto es, que vnos por passar a los biuos, y otros por igualar con los muertos, hazen tan estrañas hazañas en la vida, que mereçen renombres de immortales despues de la muerte.» (pp. 7-8)

Alexander's folly inspired Julius Caesar's, Scipio's, Germanicus' and that of all famous dead people.

Each of the proofs is stronger than the one it follows. Germanicus' testimony that the urge to win fame is encouraging in battle is stronger than the real *exempla* of his visit to Scipio's tomb and of Julius Caesar's comparison of himself to Alexander. And the Theban's testimony is closer still to Guevara's proposition.

Yet these are -or seem to be- famous deeds and sayings. As such they cannot be valuable as proof that the pursuit of fame is endless. Only the first proof, however, is true. In his biography of Julius Caesar, Suetonius records that

he came to Gades, and noticing a statue of Alexander the Great in the temple of Hercules, he heaved a sigh, and as if out of patience with his own incapacity in having as yet done nothing noteworthy at a time of life when Alexander had already brought the world to his feet, he straightway asked for his discharge, to grasp the first opportunitiy for greater enterprises at Rome.¹⁵

The second proof is a likely story. Germanicus is not mentioned in the *Noctes Atticae*. Nor is there a narrative of anyone visiting the tomb of any of the Scipios -who are frequently mentioned- in this miscellany. Suetonius, however, in his biography of Caligula records that "whenever [Germanicus] came upon the tomb

¹⁵Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 7, trans. J.C. Rolfe, vol. I, pp. 9 & 11.

of distinguished men, he always offered sacrifice to their shades." (*C. Caligula*, 3, p. 407) And Tacitus records a number of the pious deeds of Germanicus in the *Annales*, including a visit to Actium (2.53) where he evoked the memory of his ancestors -both Augustus and Antony- while "before his eyes lay the whole great picture of disaster and triumph."¹⁶ Tacitus also records a visit to Egypt, where Germanicus "adopted many practices popular with the multitude, walking without his guards, his feet sandalled and his dress identical with that of the Greeks: an imitation of Publius Scipio, who is recorded to have done the like in Sicily, although the Carthaginian war was still raging." (2.59, p. 489) Consequently, although there is no record of such a deed, Germanicus might have visited the tomb of Scipio Africanus and been inspired by it.

The third proof is an unlikely story. There is no Theban mentioned in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* or in the *De inventione* and the *Partitiones oratoriae* or in the dialogues on oratory, *Brutus*, the *Orator* and *De oratore*. Yet perusal of these works is unnecessary. There is a sign that the authority is fictitious. Cicero does not mention Maecenas in any of his works. Since Cicero died when Maecenas would have been, at most, thirty years old, it is unlikely that the former knew the latter. Moreover, as one of Augustus' advisers, Maecenas would have been Cicero's enemy. The improbability of the source is a sign that the authority is fictitious.

Consequently, the proofs which seem strongest are not proofs at all. Moreover, it is unlikely that Guevara could not recall any other real *exempla* or authorities to prove his proposition. Sallust, who is correctly cited in the translator's note, records just such a proof in the *Bellum Iugurthinum* (4.5):

I have often heard that Quintus Maximus, Publius Scipio, and other eminent men of our country, were in the habit of declaring that their hearts were set mightily aflame for the pursuit of virtue whenever they gazed upon the masks of their ancestors. Of course they did not mean to imply that the wax or the effigy had any such power over them, but rather that it is the memory of great deeds that kindles in the breasts of noble men this flame that cannot be quelled until they by their own prowess have equalled the fame

¹⁶Tacitus, *The Annals* with an English translation by John Jackson (London: William Heinemann; New York: G.P. Putnam's sons, 1931), p. 469. All page references are to this translation of the *Annales*.

and glory of their forefathers.¹⁷

And in the *Annales* (2.73), Tacitus records that, after his death, Germanicus was favourably compared to Alexander the Great.

There is a difference, however, between those three and those who live now: "toda aquella gentilidad antigua, como no temian furias con que penar, ni esperauan gloria en la gloria que gozar, sacauan dela flaqueza fuerças, dela couardia coraçon, para que con los biuos honra y con los muertos memoria alcançasen." (p. 8) As proof of this he adduces another six real *exempla* of pagans motivated by desire for honour and remembrance: Ninus' warmongering, Semiramis' building programme, Ulysses' sea-voyages, Alexander's conquests, Hercules' erecting pillars at Calpe and Abyla and Julius Caesar's participation in fifty-two battles.¹⁸ The proposition is reiterated: "no lo hizieron solo porel dezir delos que entonçes eran, sino porque dixesemos lo que dezimos los que agora somos." Yet now, paradoxically, they are said to be famous for vanity. They are not valuable as real *exempla* of people who secured remembrance of themselves, but as pagans who knew no better.

In the next section it is suggested that procuring remembrance of oneself is not only vain and pagan, but also foolish because it involves risking the very thing that one is vicariously trying to prolong:

el que tuuiere en mucho su fama ha de tener en poco su vida, y el
que tuuiere en mucho su vida, de este ternemos en poco su fama.
Si los varones heroicos no hundieran sus vidas en el crisol delos
peligros, no sacaran tan immortal memoria para los siglos
aduenideros. (p. 8)

Marcus Marcellus is adduced as a real *exemplum* of this and also cited as an

¹⁷ *Sallust* with an English translation by J.C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann; New York: G.P. Putnam's sons, 1921), pp. 137 & 9. All page references are to this translation of Sallust's works.

¹⁸ Most of these are well known. Considering Guevara's allegedly fake learning, however, it seems preferable to err on the side of excessive caution, confirming the truth of what the learned would not doubt. Diodorus records Ninus' wars (2.1.4-3.4) and Justin asserts that this ruler was the first to make war in order to increase his territories (1.1). Diodorus records the founding of Babylon and many other cities by Semiramis and describes some of the buildings in them including the Hanging Gardens (2.7.2-12.3). Julius Solinus records that Julius Caesar fought fifty-two battles in the *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* (1.106-7).

authority. The first proof is Marcellus' assertion that he risked his life to procure fame. The second is his testimony that you must kill others to procure fame:

El capitan que no es tyranno, sino Romano, con las manos ha de derramar sangre de sus enemigos, y iunctamente ha de derramar lagrimas de sus ojos propios [...] Quando estuviere en el campo, mirelos como enemigos, y que los puede vencer, pero despues de vençidos, acuerdese que son hombres, y el puede ser vençido. (pp. 8-9)

To which is appended the comment "fueron palabras de tal varon". Such a man may have won fame and may not have been a tyrant, but he was no Christian. These words are not an authoritative statement now. The soul is not saved by killing others.

In the next section Guevara asserts that "los hombres vanos" must do such deeds that they win "fama gloriosa", not "fama vergonçosa" (p. 9). He adduces eleven real *exempla* as proof that many have won the latter: Semiramis' incest; Aeneas' and Antenor's treachery; Medea's infanticide; Tarquin's rape; Brutus' murder of Julius Caesar; Cataline's tyranny; Sulla's bloodshed; Caligula's incest; Nero's matricide; and Domitian's habit of murdering by proxy.¹⁹

Consequently, when, in the next section, Guevara asserts "adeuino y iuro que iuraria V.M. desear mas immortal fama para la muerte que qualquier reposo para esta vida" (p. 10), and notes, as signs of this, past victories, the war with France being carried on at the time, the prospects of conquest in the New World, the fact that he is an emperor, his lofty thoughts, courage, determination and scrupulous conscience and the intention to surpass all his predecessors indicated by the device "plus ultra", all this is at once praise and blame, a way of saying that Carlos is as vain as he is ambitious. Moreover, the section which follows this, in which Guevara protests that he would not wish to flatter Carlos, seems -to put it mildly- somewhat ironical.

A little further on the translator modestly declines to praise the work:

¹⁹ Again most of these are well known. Justin records that Semiramis fell in love with her son (1.2). Aeneas despised Priam and Antenor argued in favour of returning Helen (*Iliad* 13.460 and 7.347-53). Domitian's cruelty is recorded in Suetonius' biography of him (10 & 11).

Quanta sea la excellencia de esta escriptura, no quiero lo escriua mi pluma, sino que lo confiessen los que leyeren la obra. Dire lo que siento: hablando con hombres sentidos de mi edad pienso he leido mucho, pero fuera las diuinas letras, jamas me espantaua cosa tanto. Traduziendo este libro, muchas vezes me espantaua ver la Diuina Prouidençia que en iuzio de vn gentil tantas cosas ponía. (p. 14)

Such modesty is usual in prefaces by authors not translators. The latter are not at all reluctant to praise the work, reserving their modesty for comments on the translation.

The notion that pagan authors of works of moral value were inspired by Divine Providence is, as Beardsley shows in a section of his dissertation titled "Christianization" (pp. 140-9), a commonplace in the prefaces to translations of them. In the preface to his translation of Cicero's *De officiis*, *De amicitia*, *De Senecute* and of Xenophon's *Oeconomica*, for instance, Francisco Thámara asserts that when pagans "dixeron o escriuieron algunas sentencias o cosas notables para vivir honestamente, y refrenarse las gentes de los vicios, or algun buen spiritu fue movido su lengua [...] O porque Dios (cuyos iuyzios son incomprehensibles) queria abrir los entendimientos d'estos especialmente." (Beardsley, p. 141) Somewhat likewise, the anonymous translation of Plutarch's treatise against greed includes an appendix in which, as the translator puts it in the dedication, "se muestra por autoridades dela sagrada escriptura, e por razones theo[lo]gales lo mesmo que Plutarcho aquí enseña por razones naturales." (p. 176)

Next the translator records how much effort his work involved:

Sacarle de griego en latin, y de latin en nuestro vulgar, y de vulgar grossero ponerle en estilo alto y suaue, quantos sudores enel enojoso verano! quantos frios enel encogido inuierno! quanta abstinencia auiendo de comer! quanto trasnochar auiendo de dormir! quanto cuidado auiendo de descansar! iuzguelo el que lo experimentare, si a mi no me creyere. (p. 14)

This claim is unusual in two respects. First, because most translations are made as a pastime, as Beardsley notes in his dissertation (p. 156), citing not only the translators of the *Odyssey* and of Book Two of the *Aeneid*, both works principally valuable as entertainment, but also the anonymous compiler of a compendium of works by Aristotle on natural history.

More unusual still and, if it were true, frustrating is the claim to have translated the text from Greek to Latin to Spanish and then from "vulgar

grossero" to an "estilo alto y suaue". To my knowledge there is no fifteenth or sixteenth century Spanish translation in which the translator claims to have rendered the text in one language in order to render that translation in another. On the contrary, in the sixteenth century, translations of translations were scorned. Many fifteenth century versions of classical texts, are translations of translations. López de Ayala's version of Livy is a translation of Pierre Bersuire's French translation. Ugo de Urriés version of Valerius Maximus is a translation of Simon de Hedin's French translation. Palencia's version of the *Parallel Lives* is a translation of Latin translations of them made by Italian humanists. None of these three makes the slightest attempt to hide the fact that his is not a translation of the original text straight into Castilian. Palencia is at some pains to list the Latin translations and the names of those who made them in his prologue (f. 2r-v). Equally, however, although each of these three indicates -by reference to the style of the original- that something is lost in translation, none acknowledges that this loss might be doubled in translations of translations. Yet the loss was very great, rendering the translation not only unfaithful, but also in many places unintelligible. Curt J. Wittlin shows that this is the case for López de Ayala's version of Livy in his introduction (pp. 137-53).

In the sixteenth century there are signs that translations of translations are regarded as unfaithful. At the beginning of the dedication of his edition of la Vega's translation of Livy together with his own translation of Florus' compendium and of the first five books of the fifth decade, Francisco de Enzinas comments, presumably alluding to López de Ayala's translation:

suelen algunos maravillarse no auer auido muchos que aya antes de agora tomado este trabajo, de trasladar con mas fidelidad, y en mejor estilo, que fasta aqui ha estado, vn tan exçelente autor como es Tito Livio.²⁰

Gracián is rather more abrasive in the "prologo y declaracion" to his translation of some of Plutarch's *Moralia*. Claiming that he has made a literal translation of the Greek text both because "la propiedad y manera de hablar dela lengua Griega responde mejor a la nuestra castellana que a otra ninguna" and also

²⁰Livy, *Todas las decadas*, translated by Pedro de la Vega and Francisco de Enzinas (Strasbourg: Agustin Frisio, 1552), sig. aii recto.

because:

de otra manera sacando del latin es imposible acertar, y por eso se vera claramente que no pueden dexar de errar los que, por no entender la lengua griega, han traduzido en qualquier lengua vulgar dela translacion latina sacada del griego. Assi estan traduzidas en romance castellano las vidas deste mismo autor Plutarcho que mas verdaderamente se podrian llamar muertes o muertas, de la suerte que estan tan oscuras y faltas y mentirosas que apenas se pueden gustar ni leer ni entender por estar en muchas partes tan diferentes del griego, quanto de Hanco a prieto, como yo he mostrado a personas doctas en algunas que yo he traduzido del Griego. (sig. bb verso)

And besides this reference to Palencia's translation he mentions French and Italian ones of Thucydides and Xenophon respectively.

By the fifteen twenties, therefore, to claim to have translated a classical text from Greek into Latin and then into Spanish would be hard to credit and infuriating if it were true. This is not at all comparable to the fictitious translations of translations mentioned in the prefaces to certain romances of chivalry.

The irony is reiterated in the epilogue -presumably by Jacobo Cromberger- in the printed editions which is slightly revised, for extra irony, by John Bouchier for his English translation. In the Spanish text of the epilogue the author is praised for his translation:

Es de alabar Dios que tal saber e gracia puso en vn gentil, y a el se le deue mucho por el exemplo de su virtuosa vida que nos dexo, y por tan alta e saludable doctrina de tan maravillosas sentencias que para nuestra instruccion escriuio. Pero por cirto no se le deue menos al autor que tan grandes trabajos e vigalias traduziendolo de griego en latin, y de latin en castellano por tan alto y dulce estilo lo escriuio. O bienauenturados trabajos e dichas las vigalias, pues de ellas tal fructo salio.²¹

In the English translation both the author and the translators are praised for their work:

²¹ *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio* (Paris: Pierre Vidoué, 1529), f. cxxvi verso. Redondo (*Guevara et l'Espagne*, p. 517) cites the beginning of the epilogue from the first edition which suggests that it is by Jacobo de Cromberger or someone employed by him. There is no epilogue in any of the manuscripts.

Certainly as great prayse as oughte to be giuen to the auctore, is to be giuen to the translatours, that haue laboryously reduced this treatyce out of Greke into latin, and out of Latin into Castilian, and out of Castilian into french, and out of French into english, writen in high and swete styles.²²

In the preface to his translation of Xenophon, Gracián stresses the difficulty of translating from Greek: "Pues querer traduzir algo en lengua vulgar qualquiera que sea de la interpretacion Latina trasladada de Griego es cosa de muy grande trabajo." (Beardsley, p. 210) Laguna in his translation to Dioscorides comments:

Quiero passar por silencio quantos y cuan trabajosos viajes hize para salir con la tal [obra ...] de Grecia, de Aegypto, y de Berberia [...] buscando] aquellas diuinas plantas que para nuestra salud produjo el Criador de todas las cosas. (Beardsley, p. 204)

Juan de Mena in the Prohemio to his translation of Baebulus Italicus' *Ilias Latina*, asserts that he decided to make this rather than a translation of Homer because

apenas pudo toda la gramatica y aun eloquencia latina comprehender [...] ¡ quanto mas hara el rudo y desierto romance! [...] E assi esta obra recibira dos agravios: el vno en la traduccion latina, y el mas dañoso et mayor en la interpretacion del romance. (Beardsley, p. 211)

Humanists, in contrast, tend to minimize the effort involved in translation of classical texts, claiming to make them as a pastime or as practice for more important work. In the preface to his translation of the second book of the *Aeneid*, Francisco de las Natas claims "vaco de algun exercicio, acorde ocupar mi rudo ingenio en algun acto virtuoso." (Beardsley, p. 156)

El caballero Cifar, *Tristan de Leonis* and *Oliveros de Castilla y Artús d'Algarbe* are three romances of chivalry whose prefaces record that they have been translated successively into different languages. Yet the same happens to classical texts. López de Ayala notes that his is a translation of Pierre Bersuire's French translation of Livy, Ugo de Urries notes that his is a translation of Simon de Hedin's French translation of Valerius Maximus and Alfonso de Palencia notes that his translation of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* consists of translations of Latin

²²John Bouchier (trans.), *The Golden Boke of Marcvs Avrelivs Emperour and Eloquent oratour* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1542), fol. 167 recto.

translations made by Italian humanists.

The account of the translation of the work suggests that it is not a translation at all, but some sort of joke. The dedication to Carlos which immediately follows undermines this, however, suggesting that it may well be a translation:

La intençion de mis trabajosos trabajos offrezco ala Mt diuina, y a V.M. de rodillas presento la presente obra. Yo pido a mi Dios, serenissimo prinçipe, que la doctrina de este libro tanto prouecha haga en vuestra vida, quanto daño me ha causado en la salud corporal de mi persona. He querido offresçer a V.M. la suma de mis vigilijs, y si no se acordare de mis trabajos, ni por eso dexare ni cesare hazeros seruicijs; y quando otra cosa fuere, en los siglos aduenideros sera mi fee loada de muchos, y su oluido retraido de todos. (pp. 14-5)

As the data collected by Theodore S. Beardsley in *Hispano-Classical Translations Printed Between 1482 and 1699* shows, translators either enjoyed or attempted to obtain considerable patronage.²³ Fourteen of the twenty translations printed before 1500 and thirty-four of the fifty printed before 1555 bear dedications. Several of those made in the fifteenth century were done at the request of the patron. Such is the case with López de Ayala's translation of Pierre Bersuire's translation of Livy -itself made at the request of Jean le Bon of France. Translations of classical texts are dedicated, when not to the monarch himself, to noblemen of the highest rank. Until the middle of the sixteenth century, and with the exception of romances of chivalry, prose fiction is often dedicated to unnamed people. This is the case for *La Celestina*, *La lozana andaluza*, *Grisel y Mirabella*, *Triunfo de amor* and *Arnalte y Lucinda*. In sentimental romance, moreover, the dedication is often an integral part of the fiction, a precedent set perhaps by the *Historia de duobus amantibus*. Since nothing seems to suggest that the *Libro áureo* is a romance of chivalry, the dedication is probably a strong sign that the work is indeed a translation.

The dedication is followed, however, by an *excusatio propter infirmitatem* which undermines belief that the work is a translation:

²³Theodore S. Beardsley, *Hispano-Classical Translations Printed Between 1482 and 1699* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press; Louvain: E. Nauwelarts, 1970), pp. 122-8.

porque va empos de otras cosas mi pluma al presente, no le supplico sino que la rudeza de mi ingenio, la baxeza de mi estilo, la cortedad de mis palabras, el mal ordimbre de mis sentençias, y la poquedad de mi eloquencia, no haga tener en poco tan exçellente obra. Yo he hecho lo que pude. V.M. haga lo que deue, dando ala presente obra grauedad, y a mi su interprete autoridad. No digo mas, sino que la diuina clemençia que dio a la S.C.C.M. tal ser y poder enla tierra, le da fruiçion enel çielo de su essençia diuina. Amen. Amen. Amen. (p. 15)

The apology for the shortcomings of the translation is usually accompanied by an explanation, reference either to the circumstances in which the translation was made or, more frequently, to the difficulty of the text itself. Finally the translator requests that his patron overlook the shortcomings or even the translation itself and consider, instead, the intention or goodwill of the translator. Diego de Salazar includes such an apology in the dedication of his translation of Appian:

Al presente me basta muy Illustre señor suplicar a vuestra señoria que con su acostumbrada humanidad resciba de mi la presente traduccion (como prenda y testimonio de mi contino desseo de hazer cosa grata al seruicio de vuestra señoria) suplicando le resciba la bondad de la historia en recompensa de mi mal ornado estilo. Y para que con su fauor sea defendida delos detractores y estimada de todos: a vuestra muy Illustre señoria suplico le plega mandar poner aquel el escudo de sus Illustres armas y deuisa acompañadas con el preuilegio [...] (sig. + verso)

The translator of the *Libro áureo*, in contrast, apologises not only for his style, but also for the shortcomings of his "ingenio" and for the "mal ordimbre" of his "sentençias". Apologies for these weaknesses are usual in prologues by authors, not in those by translators. Moreover, a translation of a classical work of moral value would not require "gravedad". Nor would a translator ask for "autoridad". If the reader began the work wondering exactly what it was, he or she would be none the wiser by the end of the prologue.

The translator's note is no less confusing than the prologue. Whereas 'prólogo' is a common term for prefatory discourse addressed to the dedicatee, 'argumento del interprete', which I refer to -rather than translate- as the translator's note, is a strange mixture of and perhaps even a contradiction in terms. As Porqueras Mayo notes in *El prólogo como género literario* (pp. 50-4), the 'argumento' is normally a summary of either a dramatic plot or, by generic contamination -which can perhaps be traced in fifteenth and sixteenth century Spanish literature through *La*

Celestina and other dialogue novels-, of a narrative. Translations of classical drama and narrative often include such *argumentos*. Francisco López de Villalobos prefaces his translation of the *Amphytrion* with a plot summary titled "Argumento para entender la comedia de Anfitrion".²⁴ And in Martín Lasso de Oropesa's translation of the *Pharsalia* each book is prefaced by a summary of the narrative to follow titled "Argumento".²⁵ And Porqueras Mayo (pp. 53-4) notes that discourse which is neither dramatic nor narrative may also be prefaced by an *argumento*. He cites the "Prólogo y argumento" which prefaces Luis de Granada's *Libro de la oración y meditación*, the "argumento" which prefaces the first book of the same author's *Guía de pecadores* and the "argumento" which prefaces Palencia's *Universal vocabulario*. Each is a commentary on what follows, argument about how it is to be read or, in the third instance, used. Such commentaries are valuable because they are by the same author as the discourse which follows. There are no fifteenth or sixteenth century translations, to my knowledge, prefaced by an "argumento del interprete". For the translator to make such a commentary may be to usurp the responsibility of the author translated. In translations of classical texts the *argumento* denotes a summary of the plot or narrative. And the discourse in which the translator, as the epitext puts it in this case, "declara quienes fueron los autores de este libro, y como hasta este tiempo a estado oculto, y con quanta solícitud [...] fue buscado", is usually headed simply 'Al lector' or 'advertencia' or any one of a multitude of near synonyms bearing the suffix 'pre-' or 'pro-'. The "Argumento del interprete" is not a plot or narrative summary, however, and it begins with an argument which much exceeds in length and complexity those usually included in prefaces to the reader. Furthermore, at the end of it Guevara states that he has collated three biographies and is not, therefore, presenting a translation.

I shall not comment on all the inconsistencies and contradictions in the translator's note, but confine myself to two passages which are characteristic of the whole. The first is another *excusatio propter infirmitatem*:

²⁴López de Villalobos (trans.), *Amfitrion*, in *Curiosidades bibliográficas*, edited by Adolfo de Castro, BAE vol. 36 (Madrid: Atlas, 1950), pp. 462.

²⁵Lucan, *Pharsalia*, translated by Martín Lasso de Oropesa (Antwerp: Pedro Bellero, 1585).

Dize Salustio que se deue mucha gloria alos que las hazañas obraron, y que no se deue menor fama alos que en buen estilo las escriuieron. Eneste caso yo confieso no meresçer por mi traduçon alguna fama: antes pido perdon a todos los sabios por las faltas que hallaren en ella. Fuera delas diuinas letras, no ay cosa tan bien escripta, que no tenga necessidad de çensura y lima. Paresçe esto ser verdad, porque Socrates fue reprehendido de Platon, Platon de Aristoteles, Aristoteles de Auenroiz, Cesselio de Sulpecio, Lelio de Varron, Marino de Ptolomeo, Ennio de Oracio, Seneca de Aulo Gellio, Erastonestes de Strabon, Thessalo de Galeno, Hermagoras de Çiçeron, Origenes de Hieronymo, Hieronymo de Ruffino, Ruffino de Donato. Pues en estos cupo correction y en sus obras, que supieron tanto, no es mucho que sea yo de su cofradia no sabiendo alguna cosa. (pp. 19-20)

The citation from Sallust is more or less correct. In the preface to the *Bellum Catilinae*, Sallust asserts:

It is glorious to serve one's country by deeds; even to serve her by words is a thing not to be despised; (3.1, p. 7)

And, allowing a certain breadth of meaning to the term "reprehendido", the fourteen real *exempla* are true. Gellius records, to cite the lemma, "Sulpicius Apollinaris' criticism of Caesilius Vindex for his explanation of a passage of Virgil" (2.16, p. 163). He also records that Varro, in the fourteenth book of the *Antiquities of the Gods*, "shows that Lucius Aelius, the most learned Roman of his time, went astray and followed a fake etymological principle in separating an old Greek word which had been taken over into the Roman language into two Latin words, just as if it were of Latin origin." (1.18.1, vol. I, p. 87)²⁶ Claudius Ptolomeus asserts, in the *Almagest* (1.6), that his work is based on that of Marinus of Tyre, a geographer of the early second century A.D. Horace criticises Ennius twice: in the second Epistle (1.50); and in the *Ars Poetica* (259-62). Strabo frequently cites Eratosthenes of Cyrene, a geographer who flourished c. 234 B.C.,

²⁶ Aelius' name is probably not misquoted or mistranscribed. The text published at Paris by Jodocus Badius Ascensius in 1519 gives the beginning of this passage as "M. Varro doctissimum tunc ciuitatis hominem .L. Laelium errasse ostendit" and the name as L. Laelius throughout the chapter. See *Auli Gellii Noctium Atticarum Libri Vndeuginti*, with scholia by Jodocus Badius Ascensius based on notes by Aegidius Maserius (Paris: Jodocus Badius Ascensius, 1519), fol. vii verso.

in his *Geographica*. In many of his works Galen attacks Thessalus of Tralles.²⁷ Cicero criticises Hermagoras of Temnos, a second century rhetor, in *De inventione* (1.6 & 1.9). Tyrannius or Turranius Rufinus (c. 345-410) attacked Jerome in a number of letters.²⁸ Rufinus of Antioch's treatise *De metris comicis* was improved upon by Aelius Donatus in the *Ars Grammaticis*, a Latin grammar used right up to the Renaissance.²⁹ Yet almost none of these are translators and they are all very famous. The comparison is ridiculous.

The note on the method of translation adopted seems at first sight quite ordinary:

He usado en esta escriptura, que es humana, lo que muchas vezes se vsa en la diuina, que es traduzir no palabra de palabra, sino sentençia de sentençia. No estamos obligados los interpretes dar por medida las palabras: abasta dar por peso las sentençias. (p. 21)

The notion that the meaning rather than the words should be translated is commonplace in translations of the period and ultimately founded on classical authorities such as Cicero and Horace.³⁰ Translation of the Bible, however, was the unique exception to this rule. Jerome in a letter to Pammachius, usually titled *De optimo genere interpretandi*, notes the difference:

²⁷See Galen, *On Respiration and the Arteries*, with a translation by David J. Farley and J.S. Wilkie (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 26-36.

²⁸See J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings and Controversies* (London: Duckworth, 1975), pp. 195-209.

²⁹The reiteration of authors elsewhere in the list is a little deceptive here. Donatus, the bishop of Casa Negra, from whom the Donatists derived their name, had nothing to do with Tyrannius Rufinus.

³⁰Horace, *Ars poetica* in the *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, with a translation by H. Rushton Fairclough (London: William Heinemann; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926): "if you do not seek to render word for word as a slavish translator (Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus interpres)"(133, p. 461). Cicero, *De optimo genere oratorum* in *De Inventione. De optimo genere oratoria. Topica*, with a translation by H.M. Hubbell (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949): "And I did not translate them as an interpreter, but as an orator, keeping the same ideas and forms, or as one might say, the "figures" of thought, but in language which conforms to our usage."(4.14, p. 365)

quand je traduis les Grecs -sauf dans les saintes Écritures, où l'ordre des mots est aussi un mystère- ce n'est pas un mot par un mot, mais une idée que j'exprime [non verbum e verbo sed sensum exprimere de sensu].³¹

And further on, criticising omissions in the Septuagint, he comments: "S'il n'est pas permis de transcrire un mot pour un autre [verbum transferre pro verbo], c'est un sacrilège que d'avoir ou bien caché, ou bien ignoré le mystère." (p. 64) The justification for the method adopted suggests that the translator of the *Libro áureo* knows little about translation.

By the end of the prologue and translator's note, therefore, the reader will be quite uncertain about whether what follows is a translation or an original work. These contradictions and inconsistencies are intriguing. The reader is unlikely to stop reading on the grounds that the writing, whatever it may be, is nonsense.

In the first four chapters the biographer reconstructs the life of the subject before his accession. The quality of this reconstruction renders the value of the discourse as biography uncertain. That Marcus' life is reconstructed at all introduces doubt about the discourse. Towards the end of the translator's note eye-witness accounts are promised, not data reproduced from Capitolinus, still less tenuous arguments about what Marcus' early life must have been like. The reconstruction itself is full of similar inconsistencies. Most of the arguments advanced about Marcus' early life are weak, deduced from false premisses or supported by the weakest of proofs. Some of the data is obviously false. There is sufficient true data, however, to ensure that the status of the discourse as biography is uncertain rather than denied. Much is untrue, but it is not all false.

In Chapter One the biographer records the date of Marcus' accession, the day of the month and place of his birth and his parents' names and lineage and, after admitting that little is known about them, argues that his father was a military commander who served at Rhodes for fifteen years and, as such, a very important person.

³¹Jerome, *Lettres*, vol. 3, edited with a translation by Jérôme Labourt (Paris: Société d'Éditions «Les Belle Lettres», 1953), p. 58

In the first period the biographer records the date of Marcus' accession. Since this date is not recorded by Capitolinus or in any other biography and historiography, the period suggests that the biographer has access to other sources, which tends to confirm the existence of the three eye-witness accounts mentioned in the last part of the translator's note:

Enel año dela fundacion de Roma de seiscientos y nouenta y cinco, enla Olympiada centesima sexagesima tertia, muerto Antonino Pio Emperador, siendo Consules Fuluio Cathon y Gneo Patroclo, enel alto Capitolio, a quatro dias de Octubre, a pedimiento de todo el pueblo Romano y consentimiento de todo el sacro Senado, fue declarado por Emperador vniuersal de toda la monarchia Romana Marco Aurelio Antonino. (p. 29)

The location of the period, however, the terms in which Marcus' accession is recorded and the dating of the event call into question the value of the classical sources, their translation and the biography itself.

The first period is out of place. The chapter heading promises a record of "la naturaleza y linage de Marco Aurelio Emperador", not the date of his accession. In Roman biographies of emperors by Suetonius and the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* and also in modern ones modelled on them such as those which constitute *Una década de césares* and Pedro Mejía's *Historia imperial y cesárea*, the subject's accession is not usually recorded until after his birth, lineage, education and early life. The period's displacement suggests that the biographer is careless. This raises the issue of whether it is a true record of Marcus' accession.

Puffed up by a series of qualifying clauses which delay first the main verb and then the predicate, the first period is as hollow as it is resonant. Unless the identity of the heir is in doubt, Suetonius and the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* record the accession of emperors with a minimum of fuss, concentrating instead on his predecessor's funeral. The concentration on the occasion here, therefore, suggests that the sources are unusual. The procedure itself and the terms in which it is recorded, however, introduce doubt about the reliability of these sources, about the faithfulness of the translation and about the truthfulness of the biography. The note that Antoninus Pius was dead is redundant: Marcus could not have acceded before this. The epithets for the Capitol and the Senate are not usual in Latin literature. Nor is "Emperador vniuersal de toda la monarchia Romana" a translation of any Latin term. The successor was not decided on the

Capitol.³² Nor were the Roman people directly involved in the decision. Nor did the Senate merely consent to the decision. The accessions recorded by Suetonius and the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* show that the usual procedure was a meeting of the Senate in the Curia, which was at the base of the Capitol, at which the successor was voted the powers of emperor. Capitolinus records that Marcus "was forced by the senate to assume the government of the state" (7.5, p. 149). Yet this was something of a formality. Preparations for Marcus' accession had been made long before then, by Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, as Capitolinus records in his biography of the latter:

after the death of Lucius Caesar, Hadrian looked about for a successor to the throne. Marcus did not seem suitable, being at the time but eighteen years of age; and Hadrian chose for adoption Antoninus Pius, the uncle-in-law of Marcus, with the provision that Pius should in turn adopt Marcus and that Marcus should adopt Lucius Commodus. (5.1, p. 143)³³

And towards the end of this biography Capitolinus records that "when Antoninus Pius saw the end of his life was drawing near, having summoned his friends and prefects, he commended Marcus to them and formally named him as his successor to the empire." (7.3, p. 149) This is, moreover, only half the story. Capitolinus records that at the same time as he acceded "Marcus made his brother his colleague in the empire, giving him the name Lucius Aurelius Verus Commodus and bestowing on him the titles of Caesar and Augustus." (7.5, p. 149) Lucius is never mentioned in *El libro áureo*, but it is here, in the first period, that his name is most conspicuous by its absence.

³²The biographer later suggests that the Palace was on the Capitol and that the Senate met in the Colliseum: "muchas vezes se hallase el Emperador conel Senado enel Colliseo, o el Senado conel enel alto Capitolio" (p. 74). And further on that the Senate met on the Capitol: "Ya que entraua el calor, yua al alto Capitolio al Senado, el qual acabado, tornaua al Colliseo donde estauan todos los procuradores y embaxadores delas prouincias: alli se detenía gran parte del día. Ya que era mas tarde, retrayase al templo delas virgines vestales, y alli oya a cada nacion por sí, segun el tiempo que les era diputado por su orden." (p. 82)

³³The same data is recorded by Eutropius: "Hadrian intended to make [Marcus] his successor; but having adopted Titus Andoninus Pius, he wished Marcus to become Titus's son-in-law, that he might by that means come to the throne." *Eutropius' Abridgement of Roman History*, in *Justin, Cornelius Nepos and Eutropius*, translated by John Selby Watson (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), (8.11, p. 512) All citations of Eutropius are from this translation.

The use of four chronologies, the Julian calendar, the year according to the consuls in office and *ab urbe conditem* and the Olympiad, suggests that Marcus' accession is dated by the careful collation of at least three different classical texts. Whereas the year *ab urbe conditem* and the Olympiad are recorded without even a gloss of the date *anno domini*, the day of the month seems to be translated straight into Spanish, an inconsistency which immediately calls into question the care with which the texts are collated. Moreover, because it is translated into Spanish, the date seems inauthentic. Yet it proves to be the most likely of the four to be true.³⁴ Suetonius and the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* and most Roman historians date events by the consuls in office. The names of the consuls recorded here, however, are most improbable. Since Patroklos was a Greek name and one from the Homeric Age to boot, it is unlikely to have been borne by a Roman consul in the latter half of the second century.³⁵ Fulvius is a *nomen* not a *praenomen* and Cato is the *cognomen* of a family of the *Gens Porcia*. The name of the first consul is, therefore, theoretically impossible. It would have to consist of a *praenomen* followed by either Porcius Cato or Fulvius.³⁶ Most classical biographers and historiographers do not date events either *ab urbe conditem* or by Olympiad.³⁷ The two dates recorded according to classical chronologies, therefore, seem unlikely to have been retrieved from Greek or Roman biography or historiography. Moreover, the two dates are neither correct nor even the same. Since Rome was founded in 752 or 753 B.C., 695 a.u.c. was 59 or 58 B.C. And

³⁴In fact it is erroneous. Marcus presumably acceded within days of Antoninus Pius' death on 7 March. However, since this date is probably not recorded in any text accessible to Guevara and his contemporaries, the date recorded here could not have been disproved.

³⁵The *Real-encyclopédie* of Pauly-Wissowa, however, lists two Romans who bore the *nomen* Patroclus.

³⁶In fact Marcus and Lucius were themselves the *consules ordinarii* at the time, but this is probably not on record in any text accessible to Guevara and his contemporaries. It is calculable from Aelius Lampridius' record in his biography of Commodus that his subject was born in the year in which his father and uncle were the consuls, given that Commodus ruled twelve years, nine months and fourteen days and that he lived thirty one years and four months, which is recorded by Cassius Dio. See Anthony Birley, *Marcus Aurelius: A Biography*, 2nd revised edition (London: B.T. Batsford, 1987), p. 114.

³⁷See Denys Hay, *Annalists and Historians: Western Historiography from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (London: Methuen, 1977), p. 5.

since Olympic games were held every four years from 776 B.C. onwards, the 163rd Olympiad began in 120 B.C. In fact Marcus acceded in 161 AD, which is 913 a.u.c., just after the beginning of the 235th Olympiad. If the year *ab urbe conditem* of Christ's birth is known, it is obvious that the first date is erroneous and not too difficult, since many classical biographers and historiographers -including Suetonius and the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*- record the length of each emperor's reign in years, to calculate the true date.³⁸ The only one of these four dates which is neither certainly wrong nor most improbable is the day of the month, the date which, because it is translated straight into Spanish, initially seems the least authentic.

The data in the second period seems and is, in fact, true:

Este excelente varon fue natural de Roma, nascido enel monte Celio, y segun dize Iulio Capitolino, nascio enlas seis Calendas de Mayo, que son, segun el cuento delos Latinos, a veynte y seis dias andados del mes de Abril.

This is reproduced from Capitolinus who records that Marcus "was born on the sixth day before the Kalends of May [...] in a villa on the Caelian hill." (1.5, p. 135) The translator's gloss is correct: the sixth day before the Kalends of May is the twenty-sixth of April. The question arises, however, as to why the biographer attributes the date but not the place of Marcus' birth to Capitolinus.

The value of the discourse as biography, the ability of the translator and the veracity of the sources are again called into question in the next three periods:

³⁸Rua makes just such a calculation in his third letter to show that there were 851 years between the foundation of Rome and the death of Domitian: "Cristo nació á setecientos cincuenta y dos años de la fundacion de Roma, en el año del imperio de Augusto de cuarenta y dos. Vivió Augusto despues catorce años, y Tiberio imperó veinte y tres años, Caligula cuatro, Claudio catorce, Neron catorce, Galba siete meses, Oto cuatro meses, Vitelio ocho meses, Vespasiano diez años, Tito dos años, Domiciano quince años; que son por todos, desde la fundacion de Roma hasta la muerte de Domiciano, ochocientos cincuenta y un años." (p. 244) The fact that Rua makes this calculation is a sign that there was no list of emperors recording the dates of accession available.

Su padre se llamo Annio Vero. Por cuya ocasion, muchas vezes los hystoriadores le llaman Marco Antonio Vero. Verdad es que Hadriano el Emperador le llamaua Marco Verissimo, porque enel jamas se hallo mentira ni falso verdad. (pp. 29-30)

Capitolinus records that Marcus "was the son of Annius Verus." (1.1, p. 133) Eutropius calls him Marcus Antoninus Verus (8.9). Most biographers and historiographers, however, call him Marcus Antoninus. The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* - Aelius Spartianus in his biography of Hadrian, Capitolinus in his biography of Antoninus Pius and Aelius Lampridius in his biography of Commodus - and Dion Cassius call him Marcus Antoninus. Herodian calls him by his *praenomen* only and Eusebius calls him Antoninus Verus.³⁹ No one calls him Antonius, a name which calls into question the care of the copyist here and also that of the typesetter in the printed edition. Moreover, this is a non-sequitur. If his father's name was Annius Verus, then he ought to be called Marcus Annius Verus. The fact that Annius was a *nomen*, not a very unusual *praenomen*, is emphasized in the next period when the biographer refers to the "Annios Veros". It was not until Marcus became a member of the *Gens Antonina*, that is, when he was adopted by Antoninus Pius, that he assumed the name Antoninus.⁴⁰ Capitolinus twice records that Hadrian called him Annius Verissimus (1.10 & 4.1.). Neither he nor any other biographer or historian, however, records that this was because he was especially truthful. It is a translator's gloss on the meaning of *Verissimus* which is transformed into the reason for Hadrian's nickname. Come the end of the work the question is raised whether Hadrian was being ironical. Again, this is only half the story. The biographer does not record that, according to Capitolinus, Marcus was initially called Catilius Severus after his grandfather (1.9). Nor, more surprisingly perhaps, is there any account of why he came to be

³⁹To be exact Eusebius is confused and differentiates between Marcus Aurelius Caesar, who gave Christians the credit for the Rain Miracle (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 5.5.1-6), and his brother Antoninus Verus, in whose reign he dates the Lyon martyrdom (5.pr.1).

⁴⁰The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, however, usually call him Marcus Antoninus before he had assumed that name.

called Marcus Aurelius.⁴¹

The next period suggests that the biographer is not even familiar with well known Roman legends, much less capable of recording the subject's name:

Estos Annios Veros era vn linaje en Roma que se iactaua descender de Numma Pompilio y de Quinto Curcio, el famoso Romano que, por librar de peligro a Roma, y a su persona dar perpetua memoria, spontaneamente se precipito en aquel voragine que en aquellos tiempos en Roma fue visto. (p. 30)

Capitolinus records that Marcus was descended from "Numa, or so Marius Maximus tells, and likewise from the Sallentine king Malemnus, the son of Dasummus, who founded Lupiae." (1.6, p. 135) So does Eutropius.⁴² Neither of them mention a Curtius among the ancestors of the Annii Veri. Moreover, Quintus Curtius Rufus wrote the *History of Alexander*, first published in an edition by Pomponius Laetus at Rome in about 1471. (An anonymous translation into Spanish was first published at Seville in 1496.) It was Marcus Curtius who leapt into the chasm which opened in the Forum, a legend recorded by, among many others, Livy (8.6).

The next passage is a similar confusion of fact and fiction, a record of Marcus' mother's name and a gloss on her lineage:

La madre de este Emperador se llamo Domicia Clauila, segun cuenta Cina hystorico enlos libros delos linajes de Roma. Estos Clauilos eran personas en aquel tiempo muy estimadas, porque se iactauan descender de Camilo, aquel famoso y antiguo Capitan Romano que liberto a Roma delos Gallos que la tenian tomada. Los hombres que descendian de este linaje llamauanse Camilos, por memoria de Camilo; y las mugeres Romanas llamauanse Clauilas, por memoria de vna hija de Camilo que se llamo Clauila. Era ley muy antigua que todos los Romanos en aquel lugar tuuiesen algun particular priuilegio, enel qual sus antepassados auian hecho al pueblo Romano algun gran seruicio. Por esta costumbre antigua tenian de priuilegio que los del linaje de Camilo tuuiesen la tenencia y guarda del alto Capitolio. Y caso

⁴¹Capitolinus explains that it was when he became a member of the *Gens Antonina* that he "first began to be called Aurelius instead of Annius, since, according to the law of adoption, he had passed into the Aurelian family, that is, into the family of Antoninus." (5.5, p. 145)

⁴²Eutropius is a little more specific: "his descent, on his father's side, was from Numa Pompilius, and on the mother's from a king of the Sallentines." (7.9, p. 511)

que la variedad delos tiempos, la muchedumbre delos tyrannos, y el bullicio delas guerras ciuiles fuesen occasion de desminuirse la antigua pollicia de Roma y introducirse vna manera no buena de vida, no por eso leemos esta prehemencia delos Romanos ser quebrantada, si no fue enel tiempo de Sylla, quando hizo la vniuersal proscripcion contra los Marianos. Muerto Sylla el cruel, como preualesciese Iulio Cesar el piadoso, hecho Dictador de Roma y cabeça delos Marianos, anullo todo lo de Sylla y torno enel estado antiguo la republica.

Capitolinus records that Marcus' mother was called Domitia Lucilla (1.2). Clavila is almost an anagram of Lvcilla, however, and Cinna Catullus is alleged, in the translator's note, to be the author of an eyewitness account of Marcus' reign whereas Capitolinus wrote from hearsay. To judge from its title, moreover, Catullus' work would specifically treat such matters. It might be concluded, therefore, that Catullus would be a more reliable source than Capitolinus.⁴³ Yet Clavilus sounds improbable as a Roman *cognomen*.⁴⁴ It is so close to the Spanish *clavillo* as to sound facetious. The translator's gloss on the name and those who bore it reinforces these doubts. In the first place the gloss is contradictory. If the male descendants were all called Camillus and the female ones Clavila, then no one could have been called Clavilus. The gloss is also inconsistent with what is known about Camillus, his name and Roman custom in the naming of women. Camillus was a *cognomen* not an *agnomen*. Marcus Furius Camillus' male predecessors, all those who belonged to the Camillus family of the *Gens Furia* would have been called Furius Camillus. Until the end of the republic women bore only one name, the feminine form of their father's *nomen*. Marcus Furius Camillus' daughter would have been called Furia, therefore, just as Marcus Porcius Cato's daughter was called Porcia and Marcus Tullius Cicero's daughter

⁴³As Costes notes in *Guevara: son oeuvre* (p. 38), the "libros delos linages de Roma" is one of a number of works fathered on Cinna Catullus in the *Libro áureo* and the *Relox de príncipes*. According to Capitolinus he was a Stoic whose lectures were attended by Marcus (3.2).

⁴⁴And, indeed, there is no one of that *cognomen* included in the *Real-encyclopédie* of Pauly-Wissowa.

was called Tullia.⁴⁵ Camillus did great service to the Roman people in defeating the Gauls who laid siege to the city in the early fourth century B.C., which is legend recorded by Livy (5.49). His descendants, however, were not awarded the privilege of guarding the Capitol in recognition of this. One night during that siege Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, awoken by the cackling of the geese sacred to Juno, roused the guards and repelled an attack on the place. It is another legend recorded by Livy (5.47). Manlius was not awarded the guardianship of the Capitol for this in spite of what his *cognomen* suggests. On the contrary, Livy records that, after he had been thrown from the Tarpeian Rock for trying to make himself a tyrant, laws were passed that henceforth no one of the *Gens Manlia* should bear the *cognomen* Capitolinus and that no patrician should be allowed to dwell on the Capitol. (20.9). This suggests that the privilege of guarding the Capitol never existed and could not, therefore, have been abolished by Sulla and restored by Caesar, who, far from restoring the Republic, was, as Marcus later calls him, "ultimo dictador y primero emperador" (p. 79).⁴⁶

The rest of the chapter is about Marcus' parents. The biographer notes that their "condicion, estado, pobreza, riqueza, fauores o disfauores" are not recorded "en las historias antiguas." This is not unusual, however, according to the biographer:

Los antiguos romanos hystoriadores no tenian costumbre de escreuir las vidas delos padres delos Emperadores, mayormente quando los hazian Monarchas, mas pored merecimiento que tenian los hijos que por la autoridad que heredaron de sus padres. (pp. 30-1)

It is true that there is very little about Marcus' parents in Capitolinus' biography, and nothing about them in Eutropius, Herodian and Dion Cassius. The next period raises the issue of why this is so and, syntactically awry and hence somewhat ambiguous, suggests that this may be because Marcus was not

⁴⁵Under the empire women usually bore the female forms of both the *nomen* and *cognomen* of their fathers. Among the exceptions to this, however, is Domitia Lucilla who, as Capitolinus records, was the daughter of Calvisius Tullus. A glance at her family tree reveals that she was named after her mother who derived the name Domitia from her father. See Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*, p. 237

⁴⁶In any case, so far as I can discover neither Sulla nor Caesar had anything to do with the guardianship of the Capitol.

meritworthy. In the first clause the biographer affirms that Roman historians did not record the the lives of emperors' parents. The last clause suggests that the opposite was the case and implies that Marcus did not merit the keeping of records about his parents. During the Republic an *imperator* was a victorious general. According to Suetonius (*Divus Julius* 76), Caesar assumed the title as a *praenomen* and it was included among the official names of most the emperors after then.

In the next passage the biographer argues that "Annio Vero, padre del Emperador, lo mas de su vida auer expendido enla guerra." (p. 31) First Capitolinus is cited:

Verdad es que dize Iullio Capitulino, su padre de Marco Aurelio el Emperador auer sido pretor enlos exercitos y capitan enlas fronteras, enlos tiempos de Trajano el bueno, y Hadriano el sabio, y Antonino Pio el piadoso, emperadores.

Next an extract from a letter composed at Rhodes is cited in which Marcus affirms; "ha diez años que leo aqui en Rhodas philosophia [...] mi padre [...]fue aqui Capitan contra los Barbaros por Hadriano mi señor y Antonino mi suegro por espacio de quinze años [...] Hadriano mi señor me manda vaya a residir a Roma." (p. 31)

Capitolinus records that Annius Verus "died while praetor" (1.2, p. 133), but not for how long or in whose reign(s) he held this office. Since Hadrian was succeeded by Antoninus, either Annius did not serve under the latter or Marcus cannot have been recalled to Rome by the former. Equally, since Marcus did not become Antoninus' son-in-law until after Hadrian's death, he cannot have been recalled to Rome by the latter.⁴⁷ Since Hadrian reigned from 117 to 138, he would have had to have been a "pretor enlos exercitos y capitan enlas fronteras" for, at the very least, twenty-one years, an unusually long period of time. Military service was usually undertaken between the ages of eighteen and twenty-eight.

⁴⁷Capitolinus records that "immediately after Hadrian's death Pius, through his wife, approached Marcus, and breaking his betrothal with the daughter of Lucius Ceionius Commodus, ... he was willing to espouse one so much his junior in years, he replied, after deliberating the question, that he was." (5.2, p. 145. There is a lacuna here.) Marcus was betrothed, first of all, to the daughter of Lucius Ceionius Commodus -usually called L. Aelius Caesar-, who was Hadrian's adopted son.

This was followed in the *cursus honorum* by the quaestorship, the aedilship and eventually, at around the age of forty, the praetorship. The praetor was a judge and, under the empire, a colonial administrator, not a soldier. A barbarian was any foreigner, not only those in Asia Minor and the eastern Mediterranean.

The last passage of the chapter is an argument that Marcus' father "deuia de ser en Roma vna delas personas muy señaladas." (p. 32) First it is affirmed that only someone who was "muy exercitada enlos exercicios dela guerra", "tenido por mas esforçado" and who "enel Senado tenia mayores amigos" (p. 31) would be entrusted with "la conquista delos mas crudos enemigos." Next Sextus of Chaeronea is cited as an authority that the Romans "siempre tuuieron en quatro partes del imperio muy enteras sus guarniciones" (pp. 31-2) and the four garrisons are listed together with the reason for the location of each one:

en Bizancio que agora es Constantinopla, por amor delos de Oriente; en Gades que agora es Caliz, ciudad de España, por amor delos de Occidente; enla ribera del Rhodano que agora es el rio Rin, por los Germanos; enlos Colosos que agora se llaman los de Rodas, por causa delos Barbaros.

Finally, as proof of the seniority of the commanders of these four garrisons, the biographer affirms that they were elected at the same time as the Dictator and the Consuls and adduces four real *exempla* of great men who held the office:

Enlas Calendas de Henero, quando se repartian los officios enel Senado, proueydo el Dictador semestre, y los dos Consules anuales, luego enel tercero lugar se proueyan los quatro mas excellentes varones para defender aquellas quatro fronteras. Paresce ser esto verdad, porque todos los famosos Romanos leemos en su mocedad auer sido fronteros en aquellas fronteras. El gran Pompeyo inuerno conlos Bizancios; el dichoso Scipion conlos Colocenses; el animoso Julio Cesar conlos Gaditanos; y el muy estimado Mario conlos Rhodanos.

This is a very tenuous argument, above all because there is no proof that Annius was the commander of the garrison at Rhodes. In the extract from the letter Marcus refers to him only as a "capitan" which could translate any rank from centurion upwards. Moreover the argument is full of more or less obvious errors. By the middle of the second century there were many more than four provinces which were governed by a variety of officials including proconsuls, propraeors, praetors and legati, some elected by the *comitia centuriata* and

others appointed by the emperor. During the Republic dictators were nominated by the consuls and elected by the Senate for a period of six months at any time when the state was in grave danger, not annually on the first of January. Moreover, the dictatorship never existed under the empire. It was abolished, never to be revived, after Caesar's murder. Consuls and praetors were elected by the *comitia centuriata* and entered office on the first of January. There were many more than four praetors, however, by the middle of the second century. Caesar increased their number from eight to sixteen. The Rhodanus is the Rhone, not the Rhine. And the *colossi* of Rhodes were the larger than life statues on the island - of which the most famous was that of the statue of the Sun-god at the entrance to the harbour of Rhodus-, not the inhabitants.⁴⁸ There is no evidence that that any of the four men passed the winter in these places. Pompey was consul when he defeated Mithridates in a campaign which began in 66 B.C.⁴⁹ He could have passed the winter in Byzantium, although I can find no record that he did. So far as I have been able to discover none of the Scipios, the most famous being Scipio Africanus Major, Scipio Africanus Minor and Scipio Nasica, ever landed at Rhodes. Julius Caesar visited Cadiz as quaestor in Ultima Iberia. Instead of passing the winter there he resigned his commission and returned to Rome.⁵⁰ Marius was elected consul and charged with waging war against the Cimbri and the Teutones who he defeated in 102 and 101 B.C. respectively.⁵¹ Again, I can find no record that he passed the winter on the banks of the Rhine, although it is possible.

By the end of the first chapter, therefore, the attentive reader is probably a little uncertain about the truthfulness of the discourse. This would be the case, it seems to me, whatever the reader's learning. For although a learned reader might know enough to be sure that some of the data was untrue, he or she would also know enough to be convinced that other data was quite true. The question is not merely whether the biography is true or false, but rather, why a biographer who is

⁴⁸See Pliny, *Historia naturalis* 34.41.

⁴⁹See Plutarch's life 30.1-31.2.

⁵⁰See Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 7.

⁵¹See Plutarch's life 11.1-14.

evidently well informed about some matters exhibits such extraordinary ignorance in others. And this question is raised whatever the reader's learning.

After Chapter Four it is no longer the value of the discourse as a translation or as a biography, but Marcus' virtue which is mostly at issue. There are a few signs that he may not be quite the paragon of virtue which the biographer takes him for in the first four chapters. In the extract from one of his letters cited by the biographer in Chapter one, for example, Marcus writes:

Mucho sentia, amigo mio Pulion, la ausencia de Roma, mayormente desde me via tan solo en esta ysla. Mas como la virtud al extraño haga natural, y el vicio al natural torne extraño, como ha diez años que leo aqui en Rhodas philosophia, tengome ya por natural dela tierra. (p. 31)

It is a somewhat ambiguous way of explaining how he has overcome his feelings of loneliness. The ambiguity is eventually resolved by the letter which he writes from Rhodes to the Roman prostitutes. Signs such as these tend to be passed over in the first four chapters, in which it is the value of the discourse as biography that the reader concentrates on.

It is not until Chapter Seven that doubt about Marcus' virtue is almost unavoidable. He dismisses five of the tutors appointed by him to educate Commodus:

celebrandose la fiesta del nacimiento del Emperador [...] como vn truhan hiziese lo que los semejantes en semejantes regozijos suelen hazer, el Emperador, teniendo la intencion mas en los sabios que no en los locos, vio que cinco dellos pateuan con los pies. Ladeauanse en las sillas, palmauan con las manos, habluan alto, y reyan demasiado, la qual cosa no menos fue notada del Emperador que mirada. Acabadas pues las fiestas, llamandolos aparte, dixoles estas palabras: «Amigos, queden conmigo los dioses piadosos, y vayan con vosotros los hados buenos [...]» (p. 47)

The biographer records this as an instance to prove how much care Marcus took over the education of his son. The implication is that foot tapping, leaning back on chairs and clapping are thoroughly reprehensible. Yet the reader probably wonders if such behaviour is really that bad and, moreover, whether Marcus is not rather unkind to dismiss people who were, after all, celebrating his birthday.

In Chapter Ten Faustina asks Marcus to be allowed to bring up her recently born daughter within the precincts of the palace. Marcus refuses her request. Among the reasons which he gives for his decision is that if their children grew up in the palace they would acquire bad habits:

Preguntote: si se crian en casa, que aproueche que su aya le enseñe honestidad con palabras, y nosotros la combidemos a liuiandades con nuestras obras. (p. 60)

The biographer cites this as an instance to prove Marcus' care in bringing up his children. Yet the reader probably wonders why Marcus does not improve the morals of his household instead of insisting that his children grow up elsewhere.

In the next chapter the biographer records that Marcus injured himself in a riding accident:

en vnas fiestas del dios Jano, andando el Emperador enel campo Marçio en vn caualllo rixoso escaramuçando, yendo desapoderado el caualllo tropello en vn panthomimo que andaua cauallero en vn bubalo, y cayendo todos, el truhan murio, el bubalo rebento, el caualllo se manco, y el Emperador en vn pie quedo herido y de vn braço desconçertado. crecio tanto el mal, que a el puso en peligro y a Italia en tristeza, y a toda Roma en sospecha de su vida. (pp. 62-3)

A fall from a horse often symbolises some sexual misdemeanour. Here, however, such an interpretation of this event will probably not occur to the reader until much later, either once the last seven letters have been encountered or on reflexion. The significance of the event relates to the marriage of one of Marcus' daughters. The biographer cites this event as proof of the care taken by Marcus in the choice of sons-in-law. Although Marcus' life is in danger he refuses to make a decision regarding a proposed marriage:

Y como pocos dias antes se huuiese comenzado a hablar vn casamiento para la infanta Macrina su hija terçera, dieronle priesa al Emperador se determinase aquel dia. y el por los dolores del braço, y la sangre que estaua quajada enel cuerpo, y las ansias del coraçon que por aquella demanda se le auian offrecido, dilato la respuesta para otro dia: el qual venido y puestos todos en su presencia, dixo estas palabras. (p. 63)

In the speech which follows Marcus still refuses to make a decision. This may be a sign of the care taken over the choice of a son-in-law. It may also seem foolhardy to insist on such principles when Marcus' life is in danger. If he had died,

Macrina might never have married.⁵²

The riding accident is probably recalled by the reader again in course of Chapter Fourteen. As proof of Marcus' preference for "nobles exercícios", the biographer cites his decision to exile all the "pantomimos y truhanes" of Rome and Italy to Ponthus. The ostensible reason for this is that they are deleterious to public morals. They were involved in a riot:

Fue la ocasion esta: celebrando los Romanos con gran tripudio a quatro dias de Mayo la famosa fiesta dela madre Berecinta, madre de todos los dioses, los Flamines diales querian llevar a su templo ea estos juglares para regozijar la fiesta, y por contrario los Flamines vestales querian lo mismo. Pues los vnos poniendo fuerça, y los otros resistencia, y acudiendo muchos a favorecer, y no menos a despartir, fue tan crudo el ruido y tan grande la matança, que las fiestas en lutos, los plazer en tristezas, y los cantos en llores se tornaron. (p. 71)

The biographer takes this to be a good reason to exile the buffoons. Yet the reader might pause to note that it was not them, but the "Flamines diales" and "vestales" who were at fault.⁵³ It is tempting to interpret such injustice as revenge on all buffoons for the accident recorded three chapters before.

The reader might recall both the accident with the buffoon and the exile of all the others in Chapter Seventeen as he or she reads Marcus' reply to Fulvius' question about why he has freed a large number of captives at the feast of Janus. Marcus explains at considerable length that rulers should endeavour to win their subjects' hearts. Such a public display of kindness may seem like hypocrisy considering his unjust and perhaps vindictive behaviour in relation to the buffoons.

Marcus gives a number of more or less moral reasons to justify exiling the "pantomimos y truhanes" in his letter to Lambertus (pp. 265-70). The moral rectitude which this implies, however, is subverted in the next letter but one, in which he vituperates the Roman prostitutes who lampooned him in a theatrical

⁵²Moreover, reprehending Faustina for obstructing a marriage which he had arranged for one of their daughters, Marcus speaks, as the chapter heading puts it, "del cuidado que han de tener los padres en casar a sus hijas, y presto." (p. 145)

⁵³The *flamines* were fifteen priests who represented various ancient Roman deities. The *flamen Dialis* -there was only one- was the priest of Jupiter. No *flamen* represented Vesta. See *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. 'Flamines'.

performance.

Marcus' virtue becomes even more doubtful in Chapter Nineteen when Faustina suggests that he keeps a mistress hidden away in his study. It is not so much her suggestion as his reply which makes the reader question his virtue. Up to this moment -it seems to me- his speeches have been more or less cogent. This speech, in contrast, is a somewhat disordered mixture of misogynist and forensic argumentation. The passage in Chapter Twenty-One, in which Marcus finally replies to Faustina's request, is a confused mixture of old laws and real *exempla* of virtuous women which fails to justify his decision. Citing laws and legal precedents on such a question is the behaviour of either a wise fool or of someone who has been found out. The reader's attention is drawn to the question of his truthfulness by the way in which the biographer introduces his speech: "El Emperador, viendo que Faustina lo dezia de veras, porque cada palabra vañaua en lagrimas, acordo de responderle de veras" (p. 83).

It is in this speech that it is revealed that Marcus inherited the empire by marrying Faustina. This is historical fact.⁵⁴ In public Marcus explains that he became emperor in two quite different ways neither of which have anything to do with marrying Faustina. In the translator's note an extract from one of his letters is cited:

Marco Aurelio Antonio [sic] Emperador, cuya es la presente obra, hablando de si mismo, escriue a Polion estas palabras: «Hagote saber, amigo, que a mi no me hizieron Emperador por la sangre de mis passados ni porel fauor delos presentes, sino porque fui amigo de sabios, y enemigo de nesçios.» (p. 19)

In Chapter Fifteen, however, the biographer records -as proof of his affability- that Marcus used to say the exact opposite:

Muchas vezes solia el dezir: «Yo no alcancé el imperio por la philosophia que deprendi conlos sabios, sino por la paciencia que tuue entre los necios.» (pp. 73-4)

Thus when Marcus laments his unhappy marriage in his speech to Faustina it is a sign that he has not been entirely truthful in the past:

⁵⁴See Capitolinus 6.2 & 19.7-9.

Acuerdome que ha seis años Antonino Pio tu padre me eligio por su yerno, y tu a mi por tu marido, y yo a ti por mi muger, los hados tristes lo permitiendole, y Hdriano mi señor me lo mandando. a mi me dio mi suegro a ti su hija muy hermosa por muger, y a su imperio muy poderoso en casamiento: pienso que todos fuimos engañados, el en tomarme por hijo, y yo a ti escogerte por muger. (pp. 87-8)

Marcus' claims to have become emperor because he is a friend of the learned or patient with fools are exposed as a pompous lie. He cannot be lying to Faustina: she knows as well as he does how he became emperor. The exposure of that lie in this speech suggests that Faustina may be right, he may keep a mistress in his study.

Chapters Twenty-Six and Twenty-Seven record the appearance of a monster in Sicily and the misfortunes of Marcus' friend Antigonus. They also initiate signs of Marcus' hypocrisy in public life. The monster appears on the island shortly after some pirates, who are inhabitants of the island, have defeated and plundered a Numidian fleet. The monster writes down the letters "r.a.s.p.i.p.", which deciphered and translated from Latin to Spanish mean "Restituid lo ageno, si quereis en paz poseer lo vuestro." The pirates do not act on this and three days later there is an earthquake which destroys the house in which Antigonus was living in exile. At the end of the chapter the biographer records that at the time Marcus "estaua enla guerra contra los Argonautas." (p. 109) The comparison between the the pirates and Roman armies is merely suggested. However, this theme is pursued so that on reflection or on a second reading the reader might conclude that the monster's message is not very different from Milenus' speech.

Marcus' hypocrisy reaches a peak when he recites Milenus' speech. The conversation is about

quan mudada estaua Roma, no solo enlos edificios pero aun enlos costumbres, y quan poblada de lisonjeros y despoblada de hombres que osasen dezir las verdades. (p. 119)

In general, considering how often Marcus is at war, either defending territory taken by the Romans or enlarging it, the hypocrisy of reciting a protest against Roman imperialism as an instance of speaking the truth is obvious. If the reader misses this, however, the two previous chapters make it abundantly clear that Marcus is reciting a speech whose meaning he wholly fails to appreciate. The biographer records that there is a plague in Rome which had caused "gran

espanto en todo el imperio Romano, porque pensaron que los querian acabar los dioses por algun enojo que tenian dellos" (p. 109). And the biographer goes on to record a few prodigies in the past which had indicated divine displeasure (p. 110) in order to introduce three signs that Marcus himself is viewed with displeasure by the gods (p. 111). The "sacerdotes", "magos" and "adeuinos" conclude from these signs that within two years the gods will gravely punish Rome. They are proved right:

No passaron muchos dias que no se levanto la guerra delos Parthos, ala qual se siguio el siguiente año hambre y pestilençia entre los Romanos.

Marcus is suffering with "calenturas" when he recites Milenus' speech.

As the work progresses these signs of hypocrisy become increasingly obvious and numerous. And letters thirteen to eighteen are evidence of his hypocrisy. The moral rectitude which his speeches to Faustina and Lucilla and his letter to Claudius and Claudina implies is exposed as bogus. Guevara is not a hypocrite to combine a moral letter collection with sentimental romance. The combination is quite consistent with his attacks on sentimental and chivalric romance in the prologues to the *Relox de príncipes* and the *Aviso de privados*. For whereas this is the discourse of the hero of sentimental romance, in the *Libro áureo* it is used to expose Marcus as a fraud.

The last letter, to Pirus, belongs, as I noted in Chapter Four, to both moral letter collections and sentimental romance. It may seem an interpretative problem, since it is not a love letter and not, therefore, used to expose Marcus in the same obvious fashion. In the printed editions of the sixteenth century it is reinserted at the beginning of the collection. Yet its place here serves to demonstrate the bogus moral rectitude of all the other speeches and letters.

It should be clear that the reader is moved from the assumption that the work is a translation of a classical work of moral value through considerable uncertainty until the last seven letters confirm all the suspicions aroused earlier that Marcus is not virtuous and that the work is not a biography, but fiction. The same movement is described by Rico in *Lazarillo de Tormes* and by Ortola in the *Viaje de Turquía*.

Conclusion

The *Libro áureo* is not, therefore, a white elephant. I have shown: that the principal structures of the work are Suetonian biography and a variety of argumentative discourse which constitutes a mixture of a moral letter collection and sentimental romance; that these structures are organized to gradually suggest and eventually prove that the subject is not virtuous, but a hypocrite and that the discourse is not truthful, but fiction; that, although the principal structures are different, the construction of the work is the same as that of *Lazarillo de Tormes* and the *Viaje de Turquía*; and thus that the *Libro áureo* is a primitive novel.

In the pursuit of a coherent and cogent thesis a number of issues usually raised in criticism of the *Libro áureo* or of Guevara's writing have been neglected. The arguments which I would advance and hence the position that I would adopt on these questions are probably more or less implicit in my thesis. Three of them, however, are too important for the conclusions to be drawn from my research not to be made explicit. This is also the place for, if not quite self-criticism, then at least the identification of matters treated somewhat cursorily by me which might profitably be researched in the future.

One conclusion to be drawn from my research, and perhaps the most important of the three, is that the *Libro áureo* is not ethical didactic prose and not pure entertainment either, but a serious work which resembles, to some extent, certain satires of the period. My research resolves an interpretative problem which has long troubled critics, but which has become prominent since Francisco Márquez Villanueva's article "Marco y Faustina". The problem is whether the work is ethical didactic prose and, if not, either nonetheless serious or pure entertainment comparable to Francesillo de Zúñiga's slanderous *Crónica*, Francisco López de Villalobos' scatological *Diálogo con un grande de Castilla* or Blasco de Garay's virtuosos *Cartas en refranes*.

In "Marco y Faustina" Márquez Villanueva showed that, beneath all the ethical didactic "garrulería", the biography of Marcus or, at least, the story of his marriage is "una estructura desprovista de todo sentido didáctico." (p. 4) He has pursued and elaborated this interpretation ever since, claiming in "Guevara y Cide Hamete" that the "«fórmula *Marco Aurelio*»(aparato pseudoerudito, carencia de fin doctrinal serio, deformación humorística)" was a recipe for success to which Guevara resorted for each successive work (p. 191) and, most recently, in

"Literatura bufonesca o del 'loco'", attempting to define a "literatura del loco" which would include Guevara's and Zúñiga's works, some of Pulgar's and López de Villalobos's and, from abroad, the *Praise of Folly*, Nicholas of Cusa's *De docta ignorantia* and Sebastian Brant's *Das Narrenschiff*.¹ Previous criticism had assumed -rather than showed- that the *Libro áureo* is serious ethical didactic prose. Even María Rosa Lida in her article "Guevara: edad media" regarded it as dysfunctional serious didactic prose, not as exhibiting some other function. Two critics, Augustin Redondo and Karen E. Burrell, have addressed the issue made prominent by "Marco y Faustina", the rest have avoided it. In *Guevara et l'Espagne* Redondo reinterprets the story of Marcus' marriage or of his relations with women recorded in "Marco y Faustina" as proof that he was an adept of the *philosophia Christi* :

Comme tout être humain, il a connu les ardeurs de la jeunesse, il a eu ses moments de défaillance et il a un coeur dont le langage n'est pas toujours en accord avec celui de la raison. Cependant grâce à la pratique de la philosophie, il a réussi à devenir le vertueux et renommé Marc Aurèle, dont la seule faiblesse -mais n'est-ce pas en fait une vertu?- est de supporter les incartades de la légère Faustine. Si nous transposons cela dans le contexte du XVI^e siècle, nous voyons quelle est la signification de la *leçon* guévérienne: malgré ses faux-pas, le prince (et tout homme) peut, grâce à l'aide de la *philosophia Christi*, trouver ici-bas une norme de vie vertueuse qui sera la voie d'accès à la vie éternelle. (p. 490)

And in "Guevara y el desarrollo de la novela" Burrell asserts that the inconsistency between the moral rectitude of Marcus' utterances and his behaviour corroborates her interpretation of the work as Menippean satire:

Paradójicamente, lo que más importa, la lección, esta negada en su propia presentación, es una entrega no acabada, que nunca se llevará a cabo. En esta situación, en que se niega la validez del mensaje, el énfasis del texto recae en esa parte del texto que no es mensaje, sino creación artística: la figura desarrollada de Marco Aurelio, y los otros personajes. Queremos afirmar que este procedimiento es típicamente menipeo. (p. 136)

J.R. Jones, Asunción Rallo Gruss and Antonio Prieto avoid the issue. In *Guevara*

¹Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "Literatura bufonesca o del 'loco'", *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* XXXIV (1985-6), pp. 501-28. The article introduces an issue of the periodical devoted to the literature of the buffoon.

Jones calls the work a "pedagogicopolitical novel" in one place (p. 36), elsewhere comparing Guevara to George Bernard Shaw and Robert Graves in that he "reduces the awesome personages of history to cranky or frivolous characters" as the two others do in *Caesar and Cleopatra* and *I, Claudius* respectively (p. 43). In *Guevara en su contexto* Rallo Gruss also seems to accept the arguments in "Marco y Faustina" in as much as she refers to the "fantasía" in the biographical works. Like Jones, however, she refuses to abandon altogether the notion of Guevara's didactic intention. In a footnote, referring to Márquez Villanueva's argument in "Guevara y Cide Hamete" that Guevara was concerned exclusively with entertainment (p. 192), she comments:

Márquez Villanueva malinterpreta el sentido de la obra guevariana al privarle de su contenido y finalidad moral. Desmesura tanto su intención atrayente que lleva la forma (esas técnicas para llamar la atención) al plano de la esencial desatendiendo la significación ideológica político-moral, que es uno de los pilares de la producción de fray Antonio, como puede comprobarse incluso a simple vista en los títulos de muchos de los capítulos del *Relox*. (p. 203)

And in the chapter on Guevara in *La prosa española* Prieto refers to the "humor" of the description of the Sicilian monster and of the story of Antigonus' misfortunes, nonetheless calling the *Libro áureo* an "obra educadora o edificante" (pp. 193-4).

Humour and edification, attractiveness and moral content, *prodesse et delectare* are not, of course, as a rule incompatible, but, since Marcus proves ultimately to have no moral authority, the arguments advanced by him about how rulers, magistrates and others in high office, how fathers, women and children and, indeed, how people of every class and condition should behave are not cogent. The *Libro áureo* is not ethical didactic prose. Yet it does not necessarily follow from this that the work is not at all serious or, as Márquez Villanueva puts it in "Guevara y Cide Hamete", that Guevara writes "para simple satisfacción suya y de los lectores" (p. 192). The work's paradoxical construction resembles that of certain quite serious Lucianic satires of the period such as the *Praise of Folly* and

Utopia.² Folly has no authority. Yet, by showing that so called reasonable behaviour is, in fact, foolish, she suggests that her own behaviour, foolishness, is reasonable, thus acquiring authority. Raphael Nonsense, as Paul Turner renders the name in his translation of *Utopia*, has no authority.³ Yet, by showing that a state which exists nowhere makes ethical sense (in contrast to the states which exist everywhere which make none at all), he suggests that nonsense is sensible, thus acquiring authority. The fictitious pagan authors of the *Libro áureo* have no authority. Yet, by showing that their arguments that Marcus was a good man are wise whereas modern Christian criticism of him as a hypocrite is malicious, they suggest that the work is indeed golden and thus acquire authority. This is much more complex than the arguments of treatises, sermons and letters and even of the structure of dialogues, but no less serious and perhaps even more successful than them at inculcating virtue. For, by assuming an ethical code rather than preaching it, each of these three works reinforces it without boring the reader. The comparison cannot be forced much further than this. The *Libro áureo* is more exactly classified as a primitive novel than as satire. Yet it is as serious as these two works, not pure entertainment like Zúñiga's *Crónica*, López de Villalobos's *Diálogo* or Garay's *Cartas*. Márquez Villanueva never seems to differentiate between works which are funny and not serious, such as López de Villalobos's *Epístole* and Zúñiga's *Crónica* and others which are both funny and serious, such as *Lazarillo de Tormes* and the *Praise of Folly*. I would not disagree with the opinion expressed by him in "Crítica guevariana": "En cuanto *morio* Guevara se había igualado (aun sabiendo menos latin) con Sebastián Brant, Erasmo, Tomás Moro y Rabelais, compañía más ilustre y deseable que la de Julio Capitolino, Egidio Romano y fray Alberto de Aguayo." (p. 350)

A paradox in one work does not make its author an Erasmist. My interpretation of the work, however, is a formidable objection to bring -in

²Others would be Alfonso de Valdés's *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón*, in which two pagans level eminently Christian criticism at the behaviour of Christians, and some of Erasmus' colloquies. The paradox of the inauthorative author is typical of Lucian, exploited in several of his dialogues and inverted in the *True History*, in which a first person narrator prefaces a pack of lies with a repudiation of untruthful historians and protestations of his own truthfulness.

³Thomas More, *Utopia*, translated with an introduction by Paul Turner (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965).

conjunction with Redondo's arguments in the last chapter of *Guevara et l'Espagne* - against Marcel Bataillon's argument in *Erasmus y España: estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI* that the *Libro áureo* was "para los erasmistas, el prototipo de la literatura mentirosa."⁴ In any case the evidence adduced in support of this assertion, the lack of any mention of the work by Vives and Juan de Valdés at moment when it was at the height of its popularity and the postscript of a letter by Alfonso de Valdés to Dantisco, "Our friend Suarez sends you as many greetings as there are lies in the *Marco Aurelio*", is far from overwhelming.⁵ The postscript, which implies that Suarez and either Valdés or Dantisco or both had read the work, is too much a witty way of conveying greetings, in my opinion, for any conclusion about the true attitude of these three to the work to be drawn from it.

Another conclusion to be drawn from my research is that reference to Guevara's style may be nonsense, attempts to define it and to decide whether it is medieval or Renaissance quite misguided and the conclusions drawn from analyses of it of much more limited validity than is claimed. The *Libro áureo* consists of a great variety of discourse including that of sermons, accusatory speeches, misogynist argument, treatises *de regimine principum*, *artes moriendi*, lamentations and consolations on bereavement, consolations on exile and on other misfortunes, admonitions and exhortations on a variety of issues, news and love letters, Suetonian biography and translations and compendiums of classical texts. If each has its own style, then Guevara's is all or none of them. In his essay "Discourse in the Novel" Mikhail M. Bakhtin argues that the "heterogenous stylistic unities" of which a novel consists -such as authorial discourse, narration, inserted genres and characters' speech- "are subordinate to the higher stylistic unity of the work as a whole, a unity that cannot be identified with any single one of the unities subordinated to it", and concluded that the traditional enterprise of stylistic analysis, the discovery of structures within the period by which to identify

⁴Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus y España: estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI*, translated by Antonio Alatorre, 2nd rev. ed., (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966), p. 620.

⁵"Noster Suarez te toties salvere vult quot mendacia sunt in *Marco Aurelio*." Cited by Bataillon, p. 620.

the author, is impossible in the novel.⁶ In "La prosa del *Quijote*", an article which corroborates Bakhtin's theory that the novel consists of heterogenous stylistic unities by distinguishing a selection of those in *Don Quijote*, Fernando Lázaro Carreter notes at the outset that all the languages, discursive practices, genres and styles "hacen imposible hablar con propiedad del estilo del *Quijote* o de la lengua del *Quijote*; porque en él, hay muchas lenguas y muchas estilos."⁷

This does not prevent Lázaro Carreter from arguing that Guevara's style is one of those included in *Don Quijote*, citing as an instance Quijote's admonitions to Sancho about governing Barataria on the somewhat flimsy grounds that each is "un exhorto seguido de una explicación causal, con final bimembre muchas veces" (p. 123).⁸ And one objection which could be brought against argument that there is no such thing as Guevara's style is that not only twentieth century critics, but also Guevara's own contemporaries believe that he has a distinctive style. Four of the criticisms levelled at Guevara's works recorded by Rhua in the first of his *Cartas* are stylistic:

unos la copia llamaban lujuria ó lozanía de palabras, otros al ornato notaban por afectacion, otros los matices de las figuras, como son contenciones, distribuciones, exposiciones, repeticiones, artículos, miembros contrarios y los otros primores del bien hablar de que muy á menudo usa vuestra Señoría, les parecian ejemplos de quien lee los *Preexercitamentos* de Aftonio, ó el cuarto de la *Retórica ad Herennium*; otros decian que tan frecuentes figuras acedaban toda la oracion. (p. 229)

Somewhat similarly Alfonso García Matamoros praises Guevara's eloquence in

⁶Mikhail M. Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel", in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, edited by Michael Holquist and translated by him and by Caryl Emerson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982), p. 262. Although I cite Bakhtin as an authority I should perhaps add: that in my opinion there is little or no difference between heterogenous stylistic unities or heteroglossia in the novel and miscegenation in other literary discourse; and that the dialogic imagination is comparable to the function of generic mixtures in other literary discourse.

⁷Fernando Lázaro Carreter, "La prosa del *Quijote*" in *Lecciones cervantinas: II ciclo literaria*, edited by Aurora Egido (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Zaragoza, Aragón y Rioja, 1985), p. 116.

⁸To be fair to Lázaro Carreter I should note that he refers the reader for further proof to his article "La prosa de fray Antonio de Guevara", in the *Actas de la Academia Literaria Renacentista de Salamanca* of 1983, which has yet to be published.

the *Pro adserenda Hispanorum eruditione*, but adds that whereas such grandiloquence may have moved the ancient Greeks, it cannot escape derision now.⁹ And the grandiloquent *Carta de don Diego de Mendoza, en nombre de Marco Aurelio, a Feliciano de Silva* purports to be a satirical pastiche of the style of certain speeches and letters by Guevara and Feliciano de Silva.¹⁰ In this case and also, presumably, in the two others the criticism is levelled not exactly at some stylistic feature which can be traced throughout Guevara's writing, but at the style of oratorical discourse included in some works for which he became famous.

Another objection which could be brought is that the conclusions drawn from stylistic analysis of texts by Guevara do not vary in most cases according to the discourse analysed. This is what would be expected if the premiss that discourse exhibits its own style is true. In fact three critics do recognize stylistic differences between different works or within the same work. Menéndez y Pelayo in the *Orígenes de la novela* asserted that Guevara had two styles. One is "triunfal y de aparato" and reserved for speeches in the *Libro áureo* and the *Relox de príncipes* (p. 120). The other is reserved for the letters in these two works and in the *Epístolas familiares*. It is

aguda y sabrosísima, pero cargada de picantes especias, de antítesis, paronomasias, retruécanos y palabras rimadas, que indican un gusto poco seguro y algo pueril, un clasicismo a medias (pp. 120-1).

In "The Life and Prose Style of Fray Antonio de Guevara" Jack Gibbs also notes a stylistic difference between Book One and Book Two of the *Libro áureo*. The style of the former is not as consistently rhetorical as that of the latter:

⁹ Alfonso García Matamoros, *Pro adserenda Hispanorum eruditione*, edited and translated with an introduction and notes by José López de Toro (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1943), p. 216.

¹⁰ In *Sales españoles o agudezas del ingenio nacional*, edited with an introduction by Antonio Paz y Meliá, 2nd edition revised by Ramón Paz, BAE vol. 176 (Madrid: Atlas, 1964), pp. 85-6. As a satirical pastiche of the speeches and letters in the *Libro áureo* it is not very good, consisting of bombast and bathos, but not of exaggeration of the figures for which Guevara became famous.

partly because of the greater use of narrative, partly because the Letters are in the nature of Rhetorical exercises and lend themselves more easily to a certain ornateness. As a result, the level of the style in the Text tends to rise and fall slightly; in the Letters it remains much the same. (p. 98)

And in the conclusion he refers to the disjunction between Guevara's "rhetorical passages and his narrative prose, the result being a certain 'jerkiness'" (p. 102). Luisa López Griguera in "Algunas precisiones sobre el estilo de fray Antonio de Guevara" compares speeches and letters in the *Libro áureo* to the revised versions of them in the *Relox de príncipes*. She concludes that there is a great difference between them:

en el *Marco Aurelio* se dan pasajes tan clásicas com el que hemos visto antes en un Fernández de Oviedo o en un Nebrija: más clasicista que la misma *Cárcel de amor*; pues en la segunda redacción se ha dado un cambio radical: [...] la *elocutio* se convierte en fin último de todo y secundariamente se advierten modificaciones en las estructuras de la composición por la introducción de nuevos planos y puntos de vista.¹¹

Most critics interested in Guevara's style, however, do not recognise differences either between Guevara's works or within them. Concentrating on the letters in the *Epístolas familiares*, Américo Castro argues in "Antonio de Guevara: un hombre y un estilo del siglo XVI" that Guevara's style is determined by an inferiority complex, an argument whose major premiss, that authors of the sixteenth century reveal their personalities in their writing no less than those of the Romantic period and after, is vigorously opposed by Leo Spitzer in his article "Sobre las ideas de Américo Castro a propósito de *el villano de Danubio de Antonio de Guevara*".¹² Concentrating on speeches in the *Libro áureo* and the *Relox de príncipes* Lida argues in a section titled "Estilo" that Guevara's style, like most other features of his writing, is mediaeval (pp. 375-84). In "Sobre la

¹¹ Luisa López Griguera, "Algunas precisiones sobre el estilo de fray Antonio de Guevara" in *Studia hispanica in honorem R. Lapesa*, vol. III (Madrid: Gredos, 1975), pp. 314-5.

¹² Américo Castro, "Antonio de Guevara: un hombre y un estilo del siglo XVI", 1st published in 1945, revised edition in *Hacia Cervantes* (Madrid: Taurus, 1967), pp. 81-117. Leo Spitzer, "Sobre las ideas de Américo Castro a propósito de *el villano del Danubio de Antonio de Guevara*", *Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo* VI (1950), pp. 1-14.

originalidad renacentista en el estilo de Guevara" Juan Marichal attempts to synthesise Castro's and Lida's arguments by showing that in the *Epístolas familiares* Guevara transforms the anonymous style determined by medieval rhetoric into an "instrumento de organización personal": Guevara "se inventaba a sí mismo al «derramarse» en forma torrencial por los cauces retóricos seculares."¹³ And in "Le style de Fray Antonio de Guevara à travers les *Epístolas familiares*", Michel Camprubi argues that in Guevara's style medieval rhetoric becomes an end in itself, "un usage immodéré de procédés qui confère une sorte d'originalité dans la convention même."¹⁴ In *Guevara en su contexto* Rallo Gruss synthesises the arguments of Lida and Camprubi to conclude that Guevara's style "supone una reelaboración de elementos tradicionales en la consecución de un sistema nuevo." (p. 120) Redondo argues that Guevara's style is the same as that of homiletic oratory (pp. 197-215). Burrell (pp. 37-8) and Prieto (p. 211) agree with him.

The various conclusions drawn by these critics is not proof that there are no stylistic differences between and within Guevara's works. They assume that the style which they recognise in one work or in a few passages of a work may be traced throughout Guevara's writing, a patently false assumption. To decide whether Guevara's style is medieval or Renaissance or more or less unique it is necessary to compare like with like: to compare the tropes and figures in which he 'dresses' an argument to those in which others 'dress' the same argument; to compare his treatment of some material to treatment of the same material by others; to compare the love letters in the *Libro áureo* to other love letters, the consolatory letters in the *Libro áureo*, the *Relox de príncipes* and the *Epístolas familiares* to other consolatory letters, the sermons in the *Epístolas familiares* to other sermons. Only after such analysis would it be possible to conclude that Guevara has a unique or, at least, innovatory or Renaissance or medieval style. The conclusions so far drawn by critics about Guevara's style are of much more limited validity than they claim.

¹³Juan Marichal, "Sobre la originalidad renacentista en el estilo de Guevara", *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* IX (1955), p. 115.

¹⁴Michel Camprubi, "Le style de fray Antonio de Guevara à travers les *Epístolas familiares*", *Caravelle* XI (1968), p. 149.

The third conclusion to be drawn from my research is that the *Libro áureo* relates to contemporary morals, but does not allude to contemporary events. The principal function of many of the events interpreted as allusions to contemporary events is as signs of hypocrisy. Marcus' recitation of Milenus' speech is inconsistent with the wars he makes or participates in against the Parthians, the Dacians, the 'Argonauts' and the Marcomanni in Pannonia. At issue regarding his treatment of the fools and buffoons and pantomimes is whether Marcus dislikes them because they are bad for public morals or because he suffers a riding accident in collision with one of them. This does not make allusion to contemporary events in the *Libro áureo* impossible, of course, but the proof of it seems somewhat flimsy.

Rallo Gruss is the only critic who has argued against interpreting the work as allusive to contemporary events. In a section titled, somewhat misleadingly, "Traslación de hechos contemporáneos a fantasías antiguas", she argues that Marcus lives a modern life within a context which seems ancient:

La invención sobre Marco Aurelio ha surgido de un deseo de convertirlo en figura operativa en el siglo XVI [...] El acronismo guevariano se transparenta así no en una atemporalidad en la que Marco Aurelio sería lo mismo que Carlos V, sino en un juego que le permite el planteamiento indirecto de problemas contemporáneos. (p. 82-3)

This, she argues, achieves through the disinterested attitude of the reader to issues apparently raised in ancient Rome, in which nothing seems to be at stake, "una mayor efectividad político-social". This is the case even with regard to Milenus' speech:

Tan sólo el villano del Danubio parece corresponder sin duda alguna a la conquista de América, y sin embargo sus presupuestos son válidos para cualquier circunstancia de colonialismo, tanto el romano como el español. (p. 86)

Almost every other critic who treats the matter is convinced that Milenus' speech is an allusion to the plight of the Indians conquered by the Spanish. Yet the evidence adduced in support of this is not convincing. Nor is that adduced in support of all the other allusions. Often it amounts to little more than speculation. And in the absence of proof such interpretation is hard to disprove. Interpretation of the work as a whole as allusive begins when interpretation of Milenus' speech

as an allusion to the plight of the Indians is no longer argued, but assumed. To shed doubt on that assumption may lead to a reassessment of all the other alleged allusions. Having shown this, perhaps it will be enough to point out some weaknesses in this interpretation of Milenus' speech.

The issue of whether the *Libro áureo* alludes to contemporary events was raised implicitly by Menéndez y Pelayo who, commenting on the arguments about militarism, tyranny and ruling asserted that "no por ser vulgares dejan de ser eternalmente verdaderos, y que cobran nuevo realce por la alusión no muy velada a las cosas del momento." (p. 117) In *Guevara: son oeuvre* Costes addressed the issue in connection with the *Relox de príncipes*, concluding that it is not a roman à clef in which Carlos and his family are represented, first, because his circumstances did not begin to resemble those of Marcus until two years after the work was finished and, second, because he and his family would have been insulted to have been represented by Marcus, Faustina and Commodus and Lucilla (p. 56-8). He also noted, however, that Carlos was accused of haughtiness whereas Marcus is praised for his affability, that Carlos was about to embark on a series of European wars whereas Marcus argues that war is to be avoided as much as possible, and that the plight of Indians conquered by the Spanish resembles that of the tribes living on the Danube conquered by the Romans (pp. 58-62). Costes cites a passage from Vasco de Quiroga's *Información en derecho* dated 1535 and a harangue delivered by an Indian in *Las cortes de la muerte* begun by Carvajal and finished by Hurtado de Toledo and published in 1557 as proof of the resemblance. The relationship between the plight of the Indians and that of the tribes on the Danube was re-examined by Guillermo Díaz Plaja in his *Introducción al estudio del romanticismo español*.¹⁵ He argued that Milenus is the origin of the romantic figure of the ingenuous and sentimental savage. Moreover he asserted that Milenus' speech is an allusion to the plight of the Indians, and that in general "el expediente de que se vale fray Antonio de Guevara consiste en referir todo su ideario a la historia clásica." (p. 190) Since then it has been accepted by most critics that Milenus' speech is an allusion to the plight of the Indians. Américo Castro asserted that "las lamentaciones del villano

¹⁵Guillermo Díaz Plaja, *Introducción al estudio del romanticismo español* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1942), pp. 186-206.

del Danubio contra el imperialismo de Roma fueron ya entendidos por los contemporáneos como directa alusión a lo que entonces acontecía al indio americano." (p. 97) Lida agreed with Castro that "la allusión" to the plight of the Indians "no era menos clara para los contemporáneos" than to twentieth century critics, but argued that whereas the question of whether the Indians should be conquered or not was a serious issue for those such as Bartolomé de las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, "para Guevara no pasaba de un bienvenido pretexto para lucir su don oratorio y sus recuerdos clásicos", citing as evidence reiteration of the same arguments in the speech of the Garamantes to Alexander the Great in the *Relox de príncipes* and in the tenth letter to Antigonus on cruel judges (pp. 362-3). The assumption that Guevara alludes to the plight of the Indians in Milenus' speech has also been made by José Manuel Gómez-Tabanera in "«La plática del villano del Danubio», de fray Antonio de Guevara, o las fuentes hispanas de la concepción del «mito del buen salvaje»", by Anne E. Wilttrout in "«El villano del Danubio»: Foreign Policy and Literary Structure" and by Herbert Walz in "Guevara's «El villano del Danubio» in der Übersetzung des Aegidius Albertinus: Politische Lehrdichtung unter Kaiser Karl V und Kurfürst Maximilian I".¹⁶

In "The Sequel to «el villano del Danubio»", Stephen Gilman corrected Lida's interpretation, arguing that in the letter to Antigonus (as it is revised in the *Relox de príncipes*) there is "an intended parallel between 'Roman' justice and that of the Inquisition", that the behaviour of a certain judge named "Licaónico" is an allusion to Lucero, the Inquisitor famous for his ferocity in Cordova, and that the Jewish ambassador's speech on the plight of his people is an allusion to

¹⁶José Manuel Gómez-Tabanera, "«La plática del villano del Danubio» de fray Antonio de Guevara, o las fuentes hispanas de la concepción europea del «mito del buen salvaje»", *Revista Internacional de Sociología* XXIV (1966), pp. 297-316. Ann E Wilttrout, "«El villano del Danubio»: Foreign Policy and Literary Structure." *Crítica hispánica* III (1981), pp. 47-57. Herbert Walz, "Guevara's «El villano del Danubio» in der Übersetzung des Aegidius Albertinus: Politische Lehrdichtung unter Kaiser Karl V und Kurfürst Maximilian I", in *Europäische Lehrdichtung: Festschrift für Walter Neumann zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by H.G. Rötzer and Herbert Walz (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981), pp. 132-42.

the plight of *conversos* in Spain.¹⁷ In *Guevara* Jones continues the interpretation of the *Libro áureo* -and of almost all Guevara's other works- as allusive to contemporary events. In a section of the chapter on the *Libro áureo* titled "Contemporary Allusions", he argues that the tenth letter is not an allusion to the Inquisition but to riots against the Spanish viceroy and the high-court in Sicily in 1516, from which Guevara's brother Fernando had been forced to flee:

it appears likely to me that Guevara is using this recent event to illustrate his theory that exemplary judges and clemency are in the long run more effective than severity, especially if the judge's habits makes him unpopular. (p. 39)

He asserts that the exile of the fools from Rome "probably refers to an as yet unidentified incident" and that in the speech on idleness "Guevara, through Marcus, urges the young emperor to raise the social value of useful occupations" because of "the increase of idleness among the upper classes and those who aspired to rise" at the time (p. 40). And he concludes the section asserting that Marcus' speech to Commodus' tutors is an educational program for the heir to the throne (p. 41).

What is taken to be contemporary testimony that Milenus' speech is an allusion to the plight of the Indians, the comparison of the speech to those of certain Indians in Vasco de Quiroga's *Información en derecho* and in the *Libro de la vida y costumbres de Alonso Enríquez de Guzmán* is not proof of this at all. Vasco de Quiroga records an embassy of Indians from Michoacán who spoke through an interpreter:

las lástimas y buenas razones que dijo y propuso, si yo las supiera aquí contar, por ventura holgara vuestra merced tanto aquí de las oír y tuviera tanta razón después de las alabar, como el razonamiento del villano del Danubio, que una vez le vi mucho alabar yendo con la corte de camino de Burgos a Madrid, antes que se imprimiesse.¹⁸

And Enríquez de Guzmán records that on the way to Cuzco, Francisco Pizarro

¹⁷Stephen Gilman, "The Sequel to «el villano del Danubio»", pp. 180-3. Gilman believes that the Jewish ambassador's speech is not in the *Libro áureo*. It is, transcribed by Marcus in his second letter to Antigonus (pp. 258-61).

¹⁸Cited by Redondo in *Guevara et l'Espagne*, p. 662, footnote 440.

and his troops were held up by "un yndio capitán con dos mill yndios e le hizo un razonamiento mejor que os lo sabré contar, que me quiso parecer al del villano del Danubio al senado."¹⁹ And he proceeds to cite the Indian's speech verbatim. In both cases Milenus is an *imago* or *eikon*, a famous real *exemplum* of an uneducated man who nonetheless protests eloquently against injustice to those who are committing it. If Milenus' speech was understood as an allusion to the plight of the Indians, then the comparison of him to the two real Indians would be a sort of tautology, a comparison of what is in effect the same.²⁰ Moreover subsequent versions of the speech by Pedro Sorel, Nicolas Clement and La Fontaine, as Díaz Plaja argues (pp. 201-2), take Milenus to be a peasant from the Danube, not an Indian in disguise.

The speeches and letters need much more research. This -as I slowly came to understand- is a huge task requiring profound knowledge of a great variety of kinds of argumentative discourse. Such discourse is not much studied. Refinement of interpretation of the work is dependent upon criticism making itself as familiar with this argumentative discourse as Spaniards and other Europeans were in the sixteenth century. Jones comments in *Guevara*:

The use of speeches, questions which elicit long, speechlike replies -in short the absence of real dialogue- combine with the virtual absence of action to make a static, slowly developing piece of work that often tires with its repetitions and heavy-handed use of showy rhetoric. (p. 48)

Yet it is precisely the speeches and letters which ought to be the most interesting passages, which on the first reading by an 'innocent' reader arouse suspicion and on reflection or a second reading prove to be full of entertaining ironies. The speeches and letters need to be as well understood as each of the *tratados* of *Lazarillo de Tormes*.

¹⁹Alonso Enriquez de Guzmán, *Libro de la vida y costumbres*, edited with an introduction by Hayward Keniston, BAE vol. 126 (Madrid: Atlas, 1960), p. 162.

²⁰These may not be the only occasions when Milenus is adduced as an *imago*. Gilman cites another in "The Sequel to «el villano del Danubio»" (p. 178) from *Guzmán de Alfarache* "«no es bien alargar las razones del cocinero que parecen del villano del Danubio». (Part II, Book II, Chapter 5)." However, Gilman is mistaken about its location. For it is not in this chapter. Nor is it in Part I, Book I, Chapters 5 and 6 in which Guzmán relates his adventures as the servant of a "cocinero".

More research on the biographical structure is also needed. Although I have argued that it is the same as that of Suetonian biography, I wonder if it does not more closely resemble that of sixteenth and early seventeenth century Spanish hagiography. In her article "Medieval Biography" (pp. 257-68) Ruth Morse argues that Suetonius' biographies of the twelve caesars, and specifically the translation of them compiled with that of Sallust and titled *Li Fet des Romains*, together with patristic hagiography, were the models for medieval hagiography. Moreover, there is no great difference between medieval hagiography and Renaissance biography:

there is no major breakthrough by the Humanists: much as they thought they were returning to the purest springs of Roman history and biography, a comparison of More's *Picus* or his anti-encomium of Richard III, will show more similarity to the main medieval traditions than has hitherto been allowed. (p. 268)

Medieval hagiography, however, like Suetonius' biographies does not include large numbers of long speeches and letters. Alfonso Martínez de Toledo adds almost as an appendix to his *Vida de San Isidoro* a translation of his subject's treatise *De virginitate Sanctae Mariae contra tres infideles*.²¹ Some sixteenth century hagiographies, in contrast, or to be more exact, some biographies of candidates for canonisation include documentary evidence of the subject's holiness such as transcripts of speeches and letters. Not surprisingly, it depends on the saint. Both Luis de Granada's *Vida del venerable maestro Juan de Avila y las partes que ha de tener un predicador del evangelio*, first published at Madrid by Pedro Madrigal in 1588, and Luis Muñoz's *Vida y virtudes del venerable varon el padre maestro Juan de Avila*, first published at Madrid by the Imprenta Real in 1635, include numerous speeches and letters.²² Granada's *Historia de sor María de la Visitación*, written over the period 1585-8, according to John Emmanuel

²¹ Arcipreste de Talavera, *Vidas de San Ildefonso y San Isidro*, edited with an introduction and notes by José Madoz y Moleres (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1952).

²² Luis de Granada and Luis Muñoz, *Vidas del padre maestro Juan de Avila*, edited with an introduction by Luis Sala Balust, *Espirituales españoles* series, vol. XIV (Barcelona: Juan Flors, 1964).

Schuyler, includes very few.²³ I doubt whether reinterpretation of the biographical structure as hagiography would much alter the interpretation of the work as a whole, but if there is some suggestion that Marcus is a candidate for sainthood, then initial uncertainty and later ironies would be somewhat stronger.

Research of real *exempla*, authorities and, in general, Marcus', the biographer's and hence Guevara's learning is needed. It is not a task which could be completed by any scholar alone. Assurance about the fictitiousness or truthfulness of instances of learning in the *Libro áureo* can probably only be achieved by a series of scholarly editions of the work. Scholars need their wits about them for this. It may be best suited to someone well read not only in the classics, but also in Latin literature of the Renaissance. Checking such learning is not a matter of merely consulting encyclopaedias, histories and dictionaries of classical literature, even the *Real-encyclopedie* of Pauly Wissowa. Textual emendation changes names. Works regarded as classical then have since been dismissed as apocryphal. Yet it is not only a question of truthfulness or fictitiousness. A study which showed what learning, what real *exempla* and authorities were familiar and which unfamiliar would be very useful. The advent of text archives on computer data-bases makes such a study feasible.

Yet perhaps what most needs further research is not in the *Libro áureo* at all, but outside it, the rest of Guevara's works. My interpretation of the *Libro áureo* provides a firmer foundation for the opinion long since formed, as I noted in the Introduction, that it is a primitive novel. And my research suggests that Guevara is a much more careful author than most critics have allowed and, moreover, that he is -in his own fashion- interested in the very question which the adverse criticism of the past is certain that he is quite careless of. It may be that his first work is unique, and that it needs to be separated from the others. Alternatively, it may be that the other works are as misunderstood as the *Libro áureo* has been. This needs to be decided by reassessing the other works without prejudice, without assuming that he is fraudulent or careless or only interested in

²³Luis de Granada, *Historia de sor María de la Visitación y sermón de las caídas públicas*, edited by Bernardo Velado Graña with a preliminary study by Alvaro Huerga and a prologue by John Emmanuel Schuyler, *Espirituales españoles* series, vol. IX (Barcelona: Juan Flors, 1962).

entertainment. Rua called the *Libro áureo* Guevara's Palladium. If it holds fast, then perhaps it is time to launch a counter-attack against the adverse criticism to which the rest of Guevara's oeuvre has fallen.

For it may not be altogether fortuitous that my reinterpretation of the *Libro áureo* follows so swiftly on the heels of Ortolá's of the *Viaje de Turquía* and Rico's of *Lazarillo* or that all of them have been made now. Once the comfortable conventions of the nineteenth century realist novel -and, at their head, a third person narrator whose very impossibility certifies that the narrative, however verisimilar, is fiction- are abandoned, then the dilemma of whether the discourse is fact or fiction has to be resolved once again. And, since it must be resolved anew on every occasion until new conventions are agreed, other solutions, including those of the sixteenth century, are as valuable as our own. Jones may yet be proved right in announcing a revolution in Guevara's fortunes caused by "interesting changes in the direction of the contemporary novel and the curious parallels which 'new' techniques have with picaresque, chivalrous, and Guevarian prose." (*Guevara*, p. 149)

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